K Dupervier Dumouriez (C.7)

THE LIFE OF GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NON OMNIS MORIAR.

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PREFACE.

PRESSED by circumſtances, I preſented the publick with the laſt two books of my life, before the firſt ſix. I do not chooſe to reply to the criticiſms that my enemies may make on thoſe two books, in any other manner than by the publication of my whole life. I live on calumnies as ſtorks live on ſerpents, without being hurt by them.

The ſix years which remain to be filled up, to terminate the preſent century, will ſtill furniſh many important events: let my work be peruſed with attention, and

it will be ſeen that I have anticipated part of them.

This book will be found to contain great truths; my compatriots eſpecially, will be ſtruck with the recital, when their frenzy is paſt. May they prove uſeful to them! I ſhall then have ſerved my country, even after my death; I ſhall then have lived long enough, and my age and nation will not abjure me: in that caſe I ſhall not wholly die.

PREFACE
TO THE
TRANSLATION.

WHETHER the ſubject or the Author of the preſent volumes be conſidered, they will doubtleſs be deemed worthy of attention. They contain ſome intereſting particulars relative to the late revolution in Sweden, which degraded that country from a limited to an arbitrary monarchy, and a former attempt of the Poles on the firſt partition of their territories to vindicate their national independence: two great events, in both of which, alas! deſpotiſm proved finally triumphant.

But the moſt valuable part of this work will be found to conſiſt in the detailed account of a revolution, that has laid aſide

the reigning dynasty of France, erected democracy on the ruins of monarchy, punished the last of the Capets, and bids fair to change the face of Europe.

The military man will here become acquainted with all the resources of his art; the historian will discover facts, the politician maxims, the statesman lessons, in almost every page; for although Dumouriez be equally obnoxious to the royalists whom he has conquered, and the republicans whom he is said to have betrayed, yet neither of them can deny, that he possesses extraordinary abilities, however much they may be inclined to lament their perversion.

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THE

THE

LIFE

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Birth and Education of Gen. Dumouriez.

GENERAL DUMOURIEZ is not induced from motives of vanity to undertake the taſk of writing his own memoirs. It is a duty which he owes to his friends, his relations, and his partiſans: it is an *ægis* which he oppoſes to his enemies and his perſecutors: and it will prove, perhaps, an inſtructive leſſon to his contemporaries and to poſterity.

In the whole courſe of a motley and a very active life, he cannot diſcover a ſingle incident, that ought to put him to the bluſh.

He is a man; he has often committed faults; he even accuſes himſelf of errours; but he has not one crime with which to reproach his conſcience: never has he abandoned himſelf to any particular vice; never has he varied in regard to his principles; and his very miſtakes have been merely the offspring of opinions inflamed by the ambition of attaining the higheſt pitch of excellence, an attempt often productive of evil.

Without wiſhing to compare himſelf to ſo great a man as Phocion, he has frequently experienced, like him, "that the ſame evil fortune which combats againſt worthy men, often produces complaints, reproaches, and calumnies, inſtead of thoſe honours and recompenſes which they merit by their labours, and thus diminiſhes that confidence to which their virtue is entitled." As he was but little affected by proſperity, ſo he now remains firm in adverſity; he oppoſes his character and his philoſophy to every reverſe of fortune to which his life may be expoſed.

Undeceived reſpecting a chimerical liberty, which can only engender crimes and exceſſes, he believes that all governments, an outrageous democracy excepted, may guarantee the happineſs of the people; that the good man is alone free,

free, and that all bad men are ſlaves. The crimes and the anarchy which deſolate his unhappy country have wofully convinced him of theſe truths; he has alſo diſcovered the juſtice of the following grand maxim laid down by Plutarch: "that virtue conſiſts in a juſt mean equally diſtant from the two extremes."

It is the ſame of happineſs, whether public or private.

A people that abuſes its liberty is a ferocious monſter, whoſe caprices and exceſſes will ſoon or late be repreſſed by means of an intolerable bondage; he expects, therefore, to behold his country ſubjected to ſtill greater calamities than even thoſe which it has already endured; and this event will embitter the remainder of his life.

Charles Francis Dumouriez was born at Cambray *, on the 25th of January 1739. He is deſcended from the younger branch of a noble † parliamentary family of Provence, known by the name of Duperier. A lady, called *Anne de*

* A large city ſituated on the Scheldt, in what was termed the French Netherlands; it was the capital of *Cambreſis*, and is now included in the *department of the North*.—Tranſ.

† It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this was termed *nobleſſe de la robe*; which, although honourable, perhaps, was

 conſidered

de Moriès, or *Mouriès*, alſo of noble extraction, having been married to Francis Duperier, great grandfather of general Dumouriez, and his paternal grandfather having had twenty-four ſons and eight daughters born to him by his two wives, ſeveral individuals of this numerous family adopted the name of *Mouriez*, which, by a Pariſian corruption, was changed into Dumouriez. The father of the general was one of thoſe who retained this name, to which he did honour, and his ſon never choſe to reſign it, in order to re-aſſume the family appellation of Duperier.

His father commenced his military career in the regiment of Picardy, where there were no leſs than ſeven brothers at the ſame time. In 1733 he obtained the employment of commiſſary at war, on his marrying a young lady of the name of Chateauneuf, couſin-german to the famous lieutenant general Buſſy, who died commander in chief of the French army in India during the laſt war. Dumouriez had two ſiſters, both older than himſelf, one of whom is abbeſs of Fervacques at St. Quintin.

conſidered as far inferior to the *haut nobleſſe*, or thoſe who ſprung from the ancient barons, and affected, like the German grandees, to loſe their origin in the *night of time!*—Tranſ.

He

He was very feeble and unhealthy during his infancy. Until the ſixth year of his age he was drawn about in a little chaiſe; he was at the ſame time almoſt entirely enveloped in iron. They were not then acquainted in France with the ſyſtem of education, ſince introduced there by J. J. Rouſſeau, and afterwards carried to ſuch an exceſs, becauſe the French chooſe to be ever in extremes. Nature, confined within this iron priſon, became perverſe, and the child was ricketty, capricious, and neglected, merely from deſpair of ſaving his life.

By good luck a prieſt, belonging to the cathedral of Cambray, who taught his ſiſters muſic, being touched with compaſſion, carried him home, and delivered him from his fetters. The boy who, on account of weakneſs of his loins, was unable to ſupport his own weight, after having been taught to walk about, during ſeveral weeks, by the aſſiſtance of his benefactor's hands, reſumed his ſtrength, recovered his ſhape, and, contrary to all probability, has become exceedingly robuſt, and capable of undergoing the greateſt hardſhips and fatigue. This ſecond father was a reſpectable eccleſiaſtic, called the abbé Fontaine; he died a canon of Cambray, at an advanced period of life. In addition

to the attention which he paid to the perſon of his pupil, who remained with him for three whole years, he undertook to form his mind, and modelled it after his own, which was good and virtuous.

When he was nine years and ſix months old, Dumouriez returned to his father, who was one of the beſt informed and moſt worthy men in France. He loſt his mother when he was very young; and all that he now recollects concerning her is, that the abbé Fontaine was obliged to carry him away at the moment when he was about to precipitate himſelf into her grave.

His father undertook to teach him Latin; and, in the courſe of ſix months, enabled him to finiſh his ſyntax. He then ſent him to Paris, and placed him at the college of *Louis-le-Grand*. This reſpectable man had no more than eight thouſand * livres a year; out of this ſmall ſum he ſacrificed fifteen hundred to the education of his ſon, and an equal ſum to that of his two daughters.

Dumouriez remained, during three years, at college, and left it, in 1753, after having completed his rhetoric. His father kept him at

* About £. 333 ſterling.—*Tranſ.*

home

home until 1755, inſtructed him in the Engliſh, Italian, Spaniſh, and Greek languages, and employed a maſter to teach him German. He at the ſame time gave him leſſons in mathematics, hiſtory, and politics.

Madame de Schomberg, who was then a girl, participated in her brother's education, and alſo cultivated muſic, in which ſhe attained great proficiency; but his father would never permit him either to apply himſelf to this ſcience, or to painting, notwithſtanding he evinced ſome taſte and much aptitude for both. He turned the whole bent of his education towards the *uſeful*, to which he willingly ſacrificed the *agreeable*. Notwithſtanding this, he himſelf was, at the ſame time, a poet, a painter, and a muſician. It was he who tranſlated, or rather imitated in French verſe, the poem of *Riciardetto*, a work replete with wit, gaiety, and philoſophy.

He had alſo entertained another very ſingular opinion; he pretended that the conſtant exerciſe of the memory wore out the mind, and rendered the conception ſluggiſh; he would, therefore, never permit his ſon to learn any thing by heart; he wiſhed that he ſhould read, compare, meditate, and form ideas of his own;

he obliged him to compare analyſes, and ſtrove to render his judgment ſound and correct.

Dumouriez had acquired, at college, an almoſt inordinate paſſion for books. The Jeſuits, who were entruſted with his education, perceiving that he poſſeſſed an ardent mind, endeavoured, by taking advantage of this circumſtance, to enrol him in their order. The "Hiſtory of the Church," by father Mainbourg, the "Hiſtory of Canada and Japan," by father Charlevoix, and, above all, the charming "Edifying Letters," had inſpired him with a violent deſire to travel, and he imagined that he ſhould be unable to ſatisfy his curioſity in any other manner than by turning Jeſuit, in order to become a miſſionary.

This was the firſt thing that he announced to his father on his return home. That parent was far too philoſophical to irritate the paſſions of his ſon by directly oppoſing them. To combat them more effectually, he employed the ſame arms as the Jeſuits had done. Without uſing any artifice, he therefore preſented him with the "Provincial Letters," the "Morality of the Jeſuits," "Bayle's Analyſis," ſome of "Voltaire's works," the "Travels of ſeveral private Gentlemen," "Military Memoirs," the "Ancient Hiſtory"

Hiſtory" of the abbé Rollin, the Greek and Latin hiſtorians, "Plutarch," and "Montaigne."

Dumouriez read, or rather devoured, theſe books. As all the hours of the day were occupied by his other ſtudies, he ſpent his nights in peruſing them; and it is owing to this circumſtance that he has accuſtomed himſelf to ſleep but little.

His father remained ſeven or eight months without ever ſpeaking to him about his project of turning Jeſuit. At length, one day after a very philoſophical converſation, "It is time, my ſon," ſaid he, "to know what you intend to do; I am not rich; and as the profeſſion you adopt, whatever it may be, will of courſe lead to expenſe, it is proper that I ſhould know it beforehand, in order to retrench in reſpect to what may not be immediately neceſſary."

"My dear father!" exclaimed Dumouriez, at the ſame time throwing himſelf upon his neck, "I will be any thing you pleaſe, except a monk." No more was ever ſaid upon this ſubject; and his father did not even permit the leaſt pleaſantry to eſcape him, relative to a vocation ſo ardently deſired, and ſo ſpeedily forſaken. Notwithſtanding this, he always kept up an intimacy with ſuch of the fathers of the

the order as had been employed in his education. The Jeſuits poſſeſſed the happy talent of elevating the minds of their diſciples, by means of the principle of ſelf-love, and of inſpiring them with courage, diſintereſtedneſs, and the idea of ſacrificing every perſonal conſideration.

His father was not fond of his office of commiſſary at war, notwithſtanding he performed the duties of it with conſiderable ability. His great mind, lofty, proud, and auſtere, deteſted details, trifling in their own nature, and dangerous in regard to probity. He always regretted that he had forſaken the profeſſion of arms, which he was obliged to quit, in order to acquire a livelihood, but he did not wiſh his only ſon to embrace ſuch a perilous employment; he rather inclined that he ſhould enter into the diplomatic line, or be bred to the law. Their only difference, in reſpect to the latter, was, that the ſon wiſhed to be an advocate, but not a counſellor; the firſt was more glorious, the ſecond more honourable *. In this ſtate of uncertainty

* The profeſſion of an advocate was never deemed ſo honourable in France as in England. The office of counſellor, here contraſted with it, was purchaſed for a ſum of money; but as it conferred a ſeat in the parliament of Paris, Aix,

certainty he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of both the civil law and the law of nations; and, on purpoſe to pleaſe his father, he reſolved to renounce his predilection for the military profeſſion.

It was neceſſary, however, in order to ſtrengthen and improve his body, that he ſhould learn to ride and fence. His father was not afraid that he would forget any thing, and this merely becauſe he had not learned any thing by heart: he had no occaſion to deſire him to read, for that was his favourite amuſement.

He was ſent ſoon after to Verſailles, where he reſided for ſome time with one of his uncles, who was chief clerk in the office of the duke de la Vrilliere. He practiſed horſemanſhip in the riding-houſe belonging to the hunting-ſtable of the court, and was inſtructed in fencing along with the king's pages. This part of his education, which was only attended with the expenſe reſulting from a few trifling preſents to the different maſters, occupied a whole year.

He read during the night; and when he was not employed in any of his exerciſes, he went

Aix, &c. it was conſidered as infinitely ſuperior to the former, although a leſs portion of abilities was requiſite; and it did not lead ſo immediately to fame and fortune. It muſt be obſerved, that the term *advocate* in France anſwers to our *counſellor*, and the French *counſellor* is our *judge*.—Tranſ.

and

and tranſacted buſineſs in company with his uncle, out of mere inclination, as he was deſirous of reaping the benefit of his inſtructions. Under him he learned many particulars relative to the internal adminiſtration of France.

At the end of a twelvemonth, being now a very bold horſeman, and a good ſwordſman, he rejoined his father at St. Germain en Laye, where he perfected his education under that excellent inſtructor during the whole of the year 1756.

The ſeven years war had juſt broken out; it was then that five or ſix different powers *bravely* combined together on purpoſe to deſpoil the king of Pruſſia of his territories. The prince de Soubiſe was entruſted with a commiſſion for this purpoſe, on the part of France. The marſhal d'Etrées, with one hundred thouſand men, was ordered to march into and conquer Hanover. The father of Dumouriez was appointed one of the commiſſaries to this army. He found means to aſſociate his ſon, who would not leave him, and who was then eighteen years of age, in this employment. They took their departure from St. Germain en Laye, on the 8th of February 1757, on purpoſe to repair to Maubeuge, offering up their prayers at the ſame time in behalf of the great Frederick.

The

The aſſaſſination of Louis XV by Damiens took place exactly two days before. The intelligence arrived at St. Germain en Laye at ſeven o'clock in the evening. It froze extremely hard. All the world ran towards Verſailles in affright and deſpair. Dumouriez and his father arrived there, without either hat or ſword, at about nine o'clock at night. The love of the French towards their monarch, their conſternation, and their anxiety, formed the moſt affecting ſpectacle. Notwithſtanding this, the king in queſtion diſgraced his character by low debauchery, and permitted himſelf to be governed by an imperious miſtreſs *, who rendered the nation miſerable, in order to make the fortunes of a few favourites. But the people then poſſeſſed great goodneſs and much ſenſibility, without its being poſſible to reproach them with meanneſs and cowardice. They were patient, but not abject; and under the worſt of their monarchs, they could never be termed ſlaves.

* Madame du Barry, ſince *guillotined*. This worthleſs woman, who was taken from a brothel in order to preſide in a court, retained an aſcendancy over the ſalacious and imbecile Louis XV, by gratifying his taſte for variety.—*Tranſ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Seven Years War.

On their arrival at Maubeuge, the father and ſon joined two aſſiſtant quarter maſters general, along with whom they were to make the neceſſary preparations for the march of a column of troops commanded by the count de St. Germain. The rendezvous of the army was in the duchy of Cleves. One of theſe officers, called Montazet, was a man of talents and activity, the other was both ignorant and indolent. They rode on horſeback, while the two commiſſaries were in a good carriage; the ſeaſon was cold, and the ground covered with ſnow. An exchange was ſoon effected; one of the officers got into the vehicle, and Dumouriez mounted his horſe.

Montazet, who had ſerved during the campaigns of the low countries under marſhal Saxe, recounted the particulars to him, explaining at the ſame time every thing relative to the ground

ground on which the various actions were fought; in return the young man aſſiſted him in diſcharging the duties of his important functions, the firſt elements of which he learned under this excellent maſter.

They had not been long at Weſel, before they were attached to the diviſion commanded by the marquis d'Armentiers, who afterwards died a marſhal of France. This general carried his courage to ſuch an exceſs, that it bordered on temerity. Finding that young Dumouriez poſſeſſed an inclination towards the ſervice, he employed him as an *aide-de-camp*.

After the battle of Haſtembeck, his father was ordered to go and take upon him the adminiſtration of Eaſt Frieſland *, in conjunction with the marquis Douvet, a major general, two battalions and four ſquadrons of dragoons, and the ſon was obliged to leave his dear commander in order to accompany him. An Auſtrian lieutenant general, called the count de Piſa, marched ſoon after from Antwerp at the head of the two Imperial battalions of Plutz and Charles Lorraine, to aſſume the command; on

* A county in the circle of Weſtphalia, of which Embden is the capital.—*Tranſ.*

his

his arrival general Douvet removed, and the French troops ſerved under the orders of the former.

Dumouriez on this reſumed his functions as commiſſary at war, and the duke de Broglio, at preſent marſhal of France, ſet off about the ſame time to attack Bremen.

Dumouriez was ſent by his father to this general, expreſsly on purpoſe to concert meaſures relative to the levying of contributions. He found him employed in the attack of two villages in the neighbourhood of the laſt mentioned city. Led away by his ardour, he joined a company of grenadiers of the royal regiment commanded by St. Victor, an excellent officer, who has ſince died a lieutenant general; and the villages, one of which, if his memory do not fail him, is called Oſterwick, were carried. He received a contuſion on this occaſion, and ſeveral balls paſſed through his clothes. After the action he waited on the duke de Broglio, who exhorted him to exchange the pen for the ſword.

On his return to Embden, he found general Piſa extremely uneaſy. Seventeen Engliſh ſhips of war had juſt arrived, and ſeemed to menace that city, in which there were but few

engineers. Dumouriez proffered his ſervices, and traced out ſeveral batteries on the dikes, and alſo on the little iſland of Neſſerland, which is immediately before the harbour. The Engliſh however departed, and on this the works were diſcontinued.

The ſhameful retreat out of the electorate of Hanover, took place during the winter of 1757 and 1758. The evacuation of Eaſt Frieſland followed of courſe. During this retrograde march, Dumouriez remained along with the rear guard, which was attacked near Rhede in the country of Munſter. After this he returned to St. Germaine en Laye with his father, who happened to be attacked with a fit of the gravel.

In the courſe of this campaign he embraced every opportunity to obtain an acquaintance with whatever concerned the *civil adminiſtration* of an army, a circumſtance that proved very uſeful to him afterwards; but he contracted an invincible repugnance towards his own profeſſion, and a decided preference to that of a ſoldier.

His father being ill could no longer act as his monitor. Thus left to his own direction, he ſet off for Verſailles, one morning towards the end of the month of January 1758;

to wait on Mr. de Cremilles, a lieutenant general and director of the war department, under the marſhal de Belle-Iſle. The marſhal was very fond of his father, and Mr. de Cremilles was his intimate friend. He gave him an account of the laſt campaign, teſtified his repugnance for the ſituation which he then occupied, and beſought him to procure for him a cornetcy of dragoons, becauſe, being already nineteen years of age, he was too old to come in at the *fag end* of a regiment of infantry.

Mr. de Cremilles, after ſome preliminary obſervations, preſented him to the miniſter, and he in his turn mentioned him to viſcount Deſcars, colonel of a regiment of cavalry, who promiſed him the firſt vacant commiſſion.

Dumouriez on this returned to his father, told him what he had done, had the good fortune to meet with his approbation, and immediately prepared to ſerve as a volunteer, until he ſhould be appointed to the ſituation which he had now a right to expect. Amidſt the tranſports of his joy, he addreſſed his parent, and ſaid, "You have rendered me truly happy by your acquieſcence, and as I enter late into the ſervice, I ſhall take care not to loſe any time, for I ſwear to you that I will either be killed, or become a knight

of

of St. Louis, in the courſe of four years." This was not very conſolatory to a father who had taken ſo much pains with an only ſon. Dumouriez however kept his word.

The regiment of Deſcars had maintained the greateſt reputation for valour from the very firſt moment of its being levied. The following was the motto embroidered upon its ſtandards.

" Fais ce que dois, avienne que pourra *."

Dumouriez has attended to this maxim during the whole courſe of his life.

At the battle of Roſbach this regiment had been ſo roughly handled, after having pierced through the king of Pruſſia's body guards, the marquis de Caſtries fighting at its head, that out of eight captains who entered the field, but four remained alive, and no more than one hundred troopers returned, of which thirty and a ſingle officer alone eſcaped unwounded. After this it was ſent to lower Normandy to recruit; and ſuch was the ardour diſplayed on this occaſion, that in the month of May 1758, when Dumouriez joined it, it was nearly complete, and looked remarkably well.

On his arrival he found twelve other volunteers attached to it, ſeveral of whom had ſerved

* " Do your duty, happen what may."—*Tranſ.*

during the firſt campaign; this proved a great drawback to his pretenſions, he therefore acted during ſix months as a ſimple trooper.

The maſculine and uſeful education, which he had received from his reſpectable father, gave him many advantages over his companions. He had collected a little library which always accompanied him to the war, compoſed of the "Bible," "Montaigne's Eſſays," "Horace," "Cæſar's Commentaries," and thoſe of "Montecuculi," the Perfect Captain of the Duke de Rohan," "the Memoirs of Feuquieres," and the "Geometry of Le Blond." He read over again and again, and was continually employed in meditating on theſe books, and all others of the ſame kind, which he was able to procure in the different languages with which he happened to be acquainted.

He often lived entirely alone; and, without refuſing himſelf the enjoyment of pleaſure when it occurred, always carefully avoided coffee houſes, billiards, gaming, the ſocieties uſually formed in garriſons; in one word, all the reſources of idleneſs, for which he had no manner of occaſion. Notwithſtanding this, his character, which was at once lively and open, precluded jealouſy, and he never had any enemies among his companions.

The

The regiment of Deſcars was ſoon rouſed from that repoſe which it had hoped to enjoy in Normandy. The Engliſh took Cherbourg by the cowardice and folly of a *marechal-de-camp* *, of the name of Raimond. A ſmall army was aſſembled at Valognes, which commenced a petty war of poſts and ſkirmiſhes in the foreſt of Cherbourg, where Dumouriez took an Engliſh officer of dragoons priſoner. The enemy reimbarked and ſet ſail, in order to renew the combat at St. Cas, in Britanny. The regiments of Bourbon and Deſcars ſoon after received orders to return to Germany, whither they arrived at the end of the year. It was at this period that Dumouriez received his firſt commiſſion.

During the campaign of 1759, his regiment ſerved under the orders of the marquis d'Armentieres, who was very attentive to his former *aide-de-camp*. He was employed with ſeven or eight thouſand men, in order to ſuccour Munſter, where general Boiſclereau gained great glory, and effaced that of the marquis de Gaillon, who commanded in the place.

* The rank of *marechal-de-camp*, in the French armies, was, and ſtill is tantamount to that of major general in the Engliſh ſervice.—*Tranſ.*

General Imhoff, a Hanoverian, was at the head of the covering army during the ſiege; this conſiſted of a body of troops rather more numerous than that under the marquis d'Armentieres, who conducted himſelf with ability, and fought three brilliant actions; one at the paſſage of the river Lippe near Halteren, in the face of general Imhoff, whom he drove from the poſition he had aſſumed, the others at Emſdetten and Albachten; during which he found means to introduce a large convoy of proviſion into Munſter. Dumouriez received a contuſion in the hip from a muſket ball in the courſe of the action at Emſdetten.

Notwithſtanding all this, Munſter capitulated after a memorable ſiege, and the troops went into winter quarters. They were diſturbed however in conſequence of the march of prince Ferdinand towards Heſſe and Franckfort. The regiment of Deſcars then removed into the little county of Hackenbourg in Weſtphalia, where the war continued during the whole of the winter.

The father of Dumouriez, in the courſe of this campaign, had been appointed *intendant* of the army, under marſhal de Broglio. He happened however to diſagree with the count de Broglio,

Broglio, who ſerved as quarter maſter general under his brother. Both of them being naturally warm and haughty, the head of the ſtaff, and the chief commiſſary, were incapable of tranſacting buſineſs together with any degree of cordiality. The *intendant* was accordingly ſacrificed to the conqueror of Bergen; he was ſucceeded by the famous Foullon, one of the firſt victims of the French revolution in 1789.

This diſgrace was counterbalanced by an inheritance of fifty thouſand crowns a year, which was bequeathed to him at a moment when he leaſt expected it. In addition to this, the marſhal de Belle-Iſle had made him muſter maſter general of the department of Paris; his health however was become very precarious.

He now purchaſed a little eſtate in the neighbourhood of St. *Germain en Laye*, whither he retired with his daughter, who in 1764 was married to the baron de Schomberg. He led a philoſophical life in this retreat until his death, which happened at the beginning of 1769. Notwithſtanding the large portion of philoſophy with which his mind was ſtored, his ſickly ſtate, the remembrance of a great number of injuries which he had experienced, and a character but

too replete with feeling and ſenſibility, had produced, towards the latter part of his life, a certain degree of miſanthropy and harſhneſs, which made himſelf and every body around him unhappy. Born with genius, and having acquired talents ſuitable to the greateſt employments, he had been obliged to reſign his pretenſions on account of the accidental deficiency of birth, and he was rendered ſtill more miſerable by retaining to his laſt moments an ambition counteracted by the mediocrity of his ſtation. He was brave, noble, generous, poſſeſſed an auſtere probity; but, although he united extenſive knowledge to agreeable talents, he was neither ſupple, nor even complaiſant; and his old faſhioned character had always rendered him odious to thoſe who diſtributed the favours of a corrupt court: they uniformly loaded him with marks of eſteem and averſion.

In 1760, the regiment of Deſcars formed part of the army of the count de St. Germain. That of the marſhal de Broglio left Franckfort and marched towards Heſſe. Although it would have been more uſeful to have allowed St. Germain to act ſeparately, the jealouſy of the marſhal was ſuch, as to induce him to iſſue orders to join him immediately. This junction was formed in the plains

plains of Corbach *, after an action of which the count de St. Germain experienced all the danger, and the marſhal de Broglio aſſumed all the glory. The engagement however was very inſignificant when conſidered in itſelf, as were alſo thoſe of Wolfhagen, and Volkmuſſen, which the army of St. Germain fought a few days after.

Prince Ferdinand, although far inferiour in point of force to the marſhal de Broglio, always kept within ſight of his army, and attacked by turns his right flank conſiſting of a *corps* of Saxons poſted towards Fulda, and his left ſtationed at Warbourg. This left flank conſiſted of St. Germain's army, which had been diſmembered. The marſhal acted in ſuch a manner, that this general, who was no more than a ſimple gentleman, or what the courtiers choſe to term *a ſoldier of fortune*, was diſgraced; he afterwards entered into the ſervice of Denmark †. In

* A town ſituated in the principality of Waldeck, about thirty miles diſtant from Caſſel.—*Tranſ.*

† Being obliged to leave Denmark, where he had acted as preſident of the board of war, he firſt received a penſion from, and was ſoon after appointed miniſter at war to France. The new regulations introduced by him are ſaid to have diſguſted the troops with the court, and to have paved the way for the revolution.—*Tranſ.*

conſequence

conſequence of this Dumouriez loſt a protector.

Out of part of his army a diviſion of eighteen thouſand men was formed; this became the left wing of the marſhal's line, which prince Ferdinand kept in check within the camp at Corbach, by occupying a camp at Sachſenhauſen, in the ſame plain. The marſhal detached this diviſion under the orders of *chevalier de Muy*, a lieutenant general, who died afterwards inveſted with the office of miniſter at war, and a marſhal of France, to make a circuitous march, and turn the right flank of prince Ferdinand's army, by croſſing the river Dymel at Warbourg.

Prince Ferdinand had oppoſed to this detachment a body of fifteen thouſand men, under the orders of general Sporken, who on the 30th of Auguſt received a reinforcement of twenty-five thouſand troops, commanded by the hereditary prince, now duke of Brunſwick.

On the 31ſt general du Muy was attacked, ſurrounded, and completely beaten, with the loſs of ſix thouſand men. During his retreat acroſs the Dymel, Dumouriez rallied, around a ſtandard of his own regiment, borne by one of his companions of the name of Martigny, two hundred horſemen belonging to different batta-

lions, ſaved a battery, conſiſting of five twelve-pounders, commanded by a brave lieutenant-colonel of artillery, called Buſſy, his intimate friend, and covered the retreat of the Swiſs brigade of Yenner, particularly of the regiment of Lochmann, which conducted itſelf heroically, notwithſtanding the firſt battalion was overtaken while croſſing the river. He had a horſe killed under him on this occaſion, and received two contuſions from muſket-ſhot, the one in the right knee, the other in the head. He was preſented with a gratification of 100 crowns *, one-half of which he beſtowed on his companions.

While the marſhal de Broglio, at the head of an army of 120,000 men, was playing this loſing game with prince Ferdinand, who had about 80,000, it was entirely forgotten that any troops were neceſſary on the Lower Rhine. Immediately after gaining the battle of Warbourg, the hereditary prince made a rapid evolution with 20,000 men, traverſed the county of La Mark, and appeared before Wezel; where no preparations had been made for ſuſtaining a ſiege; not even a palliſade erected; and no other

* About £. 25 ſterling.—*Tranſ.*

garriſon

garriſon provided than the Swiſs regiment of Reding, which was far from being complete, a battalion of the militia of St. Denis, and a hundred men of a volunteer company, who ſerved on horſeback. If the hereditary prince had evinced, during this expedition, that brilliant impetuoſity which at that period diſtinguiſhed all the generals of the enemy's army, and hazarded an attack, he muſt have carried the place: he choſe to be methodical, and loſt that time which was at once precious and irrevocable.

In the mean time the marquis de Caſtries aſſumed the command of the diviſion which had been beaten at Warbourg. He had a longer march to make than the hereditary prince; but, notwithſtanding this, he arrived at Cologne with aſtoniſhing expedition. Being joined at Crefelt by ſome regiments that had juſt arrived from a camp we had eſtabliſhed at Nieuport, on purpoſe to protect Auſtrian Flanders from being inſulted by the Engliſh fleet, he diſpatched an excellent officer belonging to the light troops, called Sionville, with five hundred men, who having embarked on the Rhine at Cologne, fell down the river as far as Wezel, and had the good fortune to throw himſelf into the place,

notwith-

notwithſtanding the fire from the enemy's batteries.

To repair his fault, the hereditary prince croſſed the Rhine, attacked the French at Cloſtercamp, ſurpriſed their camp during the night, and would have beaten them, had it not been for the reſiſtance of Fiſcher, who was poſted in the abbey, and the ſpirit diſplayed by count de Rochambeau, colonel of the regiment of Auvergne. He re-croſſed the river after experiencing a repulſe, raiſed the ſiege of Wezel, and made a very brilliant retreat.

On the evening before this action, while the French army was on its march with a deſign to encamp along the canal of Eugene, with the left at Cloſtercamp, the centre at Campen-Bruck, and the right towards Rhinberg, Dumouriez, who was on duty with the count de Thiars, then *marſhal-de-camp*, was diſpatched by that officer from the column on the left to the column on the right of the army. He then preceded the columns, fell in with ſome of Fiſcher's horſe grenadiers, and ſome of Beaufremont's dragoons, croſſed the canal with them, rode along the other ſide of it, on purpoſe to advance towards the right, keeping always within ſight of his own troops, but was immediately

aſſailed

aſſailed by a ſcore of the enemy's huſſars. He inſtantly defended himſelf, and at the ſame time called on ſome of the French troopers, who had juſt fled, to come to his aſſiſtance. He diſabled two of the huſſars from continuing the combat, but his own horſe fell down dead under him; and, to increaſe his misfortune, his left ſtirrup, which happened to be formed of untempered iron, was bent cloſe to his foot by the weight of his charger. He diſengaged his leg, but ſtill found his foot held faſt; notwithſtanding this, he ſuſtained, even in this poſition, a combat of four or five minutes againſt his furious antagoniſts. He then ſquatted down between a hedge immediately behind him and his horſe, and ſtill found means to wound three men and ſeveral horſes. Theſe barbarians, keeping themſelves juſt out of the reach of his ſabre, ſurrounded and fired at him with their piſtols and carabines, a ſhot from one of which carried away the middle finger of his right hand, broke the handle of his ſword, and thus completely diſarmed him; another ſcorched his eye-brows, eye-laſhes, and hair, and disfigured all his countenance with grains of gunpowder. At the very moment when he was about to be murdered, a tutelary angel arrived to his ſuccour;

cour; this proved to be the baron de Behr, *aide-de-camp* to the hereditary prince. The prince happened to be reconnoitering, and theſe huſſars formed his eſcort. The baron was obliged to draw his ſabre to prevent them from butchering Dumouriez; he at length ſucceeded in his efforts, and they diſengaged his foot, and dragged him before the hereditary prince, who paid him many compliments. He was then carried to the ſtation where the enemy's firſt line had encamped in the open air during the preceding night. It conſiſted of an Engliſh brigade, commanded by lord Waldegrave. There his wounds were dreſſed for the firſt time; he had ſix deep ones, and thirteen ſevere contuſions. What affected him moſt was the circumſtance of being unable to make uſe of either of his arms. He was, however, placed on horſeback, and arrived at the camp of Burich, where he was greatly careſſed by the enemy's generals and ſoldiers, more eſpecially the Britiſh.

On the next day the hereditary prince choſe to retire, after experiencing but indifferent ſucceſs, which he, however, had no reaſon to expect; for never did any general better deſerve to gain a battle than he did that of Cloſter-camp.

Dumouriez

Dumouriez received every poſſible mark of attention and benevolence from him; but, although he entreated him as a favour to ſend him back to the French camp, the prince perſiſted in keeping him along with the army, until it had croſſed the Rhine and begun to retire, leſt he ſhould relate what he had ſeen. After his retreat had been achieved he ſent him to Wezel, eſcorted by the ſame baron de Behr who had ſaved his life, and who was a very amiable young man; he at the ſame time wrote an exceedingly kind letter to the marquis de Caſtries, full of the praiſes of his young priſoner.

The prince did not then foreſee that this letter, which was carefully tranſmitted to the marſhal de Belle-Iſle, would make the fortune of this officer, and that thirty-two years after this ſelf-ſame priſoner would command an army againſt him in Champagne, and ſave France, by obliging him to retire. However, notwithſtanding all this, had he even anticipated thoſe events, he would have acted exactly in the ſame manner. Generoſity is one of the eſſential characteriſtics appertaining to great warriors; and it was eminently conſpicuous in this prince, who was as much beloved in the French army as in that of which he was the Achilles.

On

On his arrival at Weſel at the end of four days, during which his wounds had been dreſſed but once, having lived on wine and ſalt meat at the table of the hereditary prince, having been daily on horſeback, having ſlept conſtantly on ſtraw, and never having once thrown off his clothes, his boots and regimentals were covered with clotted blood: he was taken great care of, but he ſuffered excruciating tortures. Upwards of two hundred grains of powder were extracted from his face. The ſurgeons reſtored the ſkin of his forehead, which a ſtroke from a ſabre had diſplaced and driven over his right eye, while part of the bone of his left arm, called the *radius*, which had been cut and ſplintered, was ſawed off. At the end of two months he was in a ſituation to be removed to St. Germain en Laye.

His attachment to books had been partly the means of ſaving his life during this perilous adventure. He happened to have Paſcal's "Provincial Letters" in the left pocket of his great coat, which covered his hip. A muſket-ball, being intercepted by the book, pierced through half the leaves, and remained there. On his arrival in Paris, he preſented this very volume to father Latour, a Jeſuit, a man of talents,

who had been principal of the college of *Louis-le-Grand*, obſerving, at the ſame time, that this was one of the miracles of *Port-Royal* *.

The marſhal de Belle-Iſle happened to die about this period, previouſly to having preſented the military *graces* to Louis XV for his ſignature. At that period the compenſations beſtowed on military men for their ſervices were known by this name, and Dumouriez was included in the liſt, being recommended for the croſs of St. Louis, and a troop of horſe.

The duke de Choiſeul ſucceeded the marſhal de Belle-Iſle, and became miniſter at war, or rather prime miniſter. He preſented himſelf before him, one morning, when he gave audience, with each of his arms in a ſcarf, and his head bound up. The miniſter received him with great politeneſs; but obſerved, that two *graces* at one time were too much, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould make his election of one of them. He adviſed him to accept of the croſs, aſſuring him that he would give him a troop as ſoon as he ſhould recover from his wounds. The duke was not inattentive to his own views in this offer. At that

* *Port-Royal* was the principal ſeminary for the education of the Janſeniſts, between whom and the Jeſuits there exiſted a mutual antipathy.—*Tranſ.*

period

period three troops only were vacant, while there were actually more than eight hundred candidates, many of whom were young men belonging to the court.

Dumouriez replied to the miniſter in a firm tone of voice: "Since you permit me to make my option, I will accept of the troop of cavalry; I moreover conjure you to believe that I will ſerve during the campaign, and that you will be ſpeedily induced to beſtow upon me the croſs of St. Louis." The duke of Choiſeul, who poſſeſſed much wit and animation, was ſtruck with this anſwer, and the arrangement was inſtantly completed. The viſcount Deſcars, having been elevated to the rank of *marſhal-de-camp*, the regiment was conferred on the marquis Deſcars, his nephew, and Dumouriez had the ſatisfaction of receiving a troop of horſe in the very *corps* with which he had ſerved during three campaigns.

His youth, the vigour of his conſtitution, and the healthy ſtate of his blood, were ſuch, that, at the end of eight weeks, all his wounds were cloſed.

He took leave of the miniſter in the month of April 1761, and immediately after joined his

regiment at Tongres *; but the fatigue of the journey occaſioned his left arm to ſwell: it ſoon after turned black, and afflicted him with inſupportable torments. He afterwards ſpent a month at Aix-la-chapelle, where the baths made his wounds open afreſh, on which many ſplinters, and bits of his ſhirt and ſleeve, which were ſuffered to remain in the orifice, through the inattention of the ſurgeon, made their appearance, and were extracted. He rejoined his regiment on the evening before the battle of Fillingſhauſen, and ſerved, during the whole campaign, with the wounds in his arm open, which was very inconvenient for an officer of cavalry.

The battle juſt mentioned was loſt by the precipitate ambition of the marſhal de Broglio, who made the attack a day too ſoon, on purpoſe to gain it by means of his own army alone, and the criminal jealouſy of the prince de Soubiſe, who ſacrificed the honour of France to the guilty pleaſure of mortifying his rival, by allowing him to receive a check immediately under his eye.

* A town in the biſhopric of Liege, within twelve miles of Maeſtricht.—*Tranſ.*

On

On the night of the action, Dumouriez, who belonged to Soubiſe's army, was detached with fifty horſemen and one hundred infantry towards the right wing, to keep open the communication with the troops under Broglio. The two armies filed off by different routes; that of Broglio towards Heſſe, and that of Soubiſe for Munſter. Dumouriez, who did not know in what direction the army of the prince had marched, and who found himſelf nearer to that under the marſhal, ſent and demanded how to proceed from the latter. It was bluntly notified to him by Broglio, that he had no *orders* for him, and that he muſt endeavour to rejoin the troops to which he belonged.

The Hanoverians, who had juſt arrived, ſoon decided the queſtion, for he was immediately afterwards attacked by Scheiter and Freytag, with a thouſand men provided with cannon. On eſcaping from them he was purſued, and having retired to the caſtle of Arenſberg, he there defended himſelf for ſome time, and then effected a retreat by a circuitous march in the enemy's rear. After this he carried off forty waggons laden with oats, levied contributions in the county of La Mark, brought away hoſtages, rejoined the prince de Soubiſe, near Warendorf,

at the end of a fortnight, and preſented him with the booty, together with eighty priſoners, having loſt only two of his own men during the whole expedition.

He received, on this occaſion, a gratification of one hundred crowns, which he diſtributed among his companions, who had already become rich by this incurſion, which produced, on his own part, a beautiful and moſt excellent charger.

Neither the remainder of that campaign, nor the whole of the following, was accompanied by any intereſting event, the uſeleſs and bloody battle of Amœnebourg excepted. At the end of the year 1762, the regiment of Deſcars returned to France, and was ſent into quarters at St. Lô, in Lower Normandy.

Peace having been proclaimed in the beginning of 1763, the ſixty-four regiments of cavalry were reduced to thirty; thoſe which belonged to individuals * were diſbanded, and united

* It was then common in France, as it is ſtill in the hereditary dominions of the emperor, to permit the nobles to raiſe regiments at their own expenſe, and generally from among their vaſſals, which were called by their family names, as the regiments of Rohan, Soubiſe, and Penthievre, in the ſervice of the

united to the royal regiments, or ſuch as appertained to the princes. That of Deſcars was incorporated with the regiment of Penthievre. This produced the diſmiſſion of ten captains from each regiment, that is to ſay, of three hundred in the cavalry alone. Dumouriez was included in this liſt, and received the croſs of St. Louis at the ſame time. In about two months afterwards, it was preſented to his father by the hands of his ſon, who thus enjoyed the ſatisfaction of having kept his promiſe, and of having deſerved this decoration long before he was entitled to it by ſeniority *.

He has not deemed it neceſſary to enter into a more minute detail relative to a war, during which he ſerved as a ſubaltern, and of which he has already mentioned the moſt intereſting particulars in the memoirs already publiſhed by him.

At that period of his life he was not devoid

the former; and thoſe of Latour, Cobourg, Loudon, Verf, &c. in that of the latter. When commanded by the nobleman who had raiſed them, who was always a prince, duke, baron, or count, or by any of his ſucceſſors, he was termed the *colonel proprietor*, as they were called the *proprietory regiments*.—Tranſ.

* After ten years ſervice an officer had a *right* to the croſs of St. Louis.—*Tranſ.*

of application, having endeavoured, during four campaigns, to profit by the leſſons of a great maſter, the famous Fiſcher, who evinced an extraordinary friendſhip for him, and whom he accompanied, during all his expeditions, as often as it was poſſible, without proving detrimental to the ſervice of his own regiment. This extraordinary man, decried by the generals, who made him die of chagrin, poſſeſſed greater and more ſublime views than themſelves. He had been groom to the marquis d'Armentieres, and was unable to attain any higher rank than that of a brigadier, becauſe he experienced a thouſand inſtances of injuſtice, under the oppreſſion of which he at length ſunk.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Travels in Italy and Corſica.

WHILE marching along with his regiment towards the town of St. Lô, in 1762, Dumouriez happened to paſs through Pontaudemer, where one of his aunts reſided; ſhe was his father's ſiſter, and widow of a marquis de Belloy; ſhe died in 1792 at an advanced age. This lady had two daughters, and had juſt loſt her only ſon, who was an officer of infantry, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and ability. Both of the young ladies were extremely handſome, and well educated. The elder was beloved by the marquis de Perry de St. Auvant, a lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Noailles cavalry. Dumouriez became paſſionately fond of the younger.

His father and his aunt, although ſo nearly related, moſt cordially hated each other; ſome intereſted diſputes, relative to a fortune bequeathed to the family, had rendered them irreconcileable.

concileable. If hatred reflect but little, love reflects ſtill leſs, more eſpecially when its dominion extends over young minds. In ſhort, the attachment became reciprocal, and the flame was fanned by the hope of a future union between the two couſins. The mother, who was on the point of ſeeing one daughter married, approved of a connection, by means of which ſhe hoped ſome day to behold the other alſo ſettled in life.

The young man was only twenty-three years old, his couſin but ſeventeen. Although both of them burned with a pure and tender paſſion, they were yet reaſonable enough to reflect, that he had ſpent in the army the little portion of his mother's eſtate that appertained to him, and that ſhe had not any claim to more than eight or nine hundred livres a year out of the property left by her father, and in reſpect to every thing elſe was entirely dependent on the caprice of a very imperious and ſelf-loving parent. When, in addition to all this, it was recollected, that the peace, now about to take place, would deprive her lover of his profeſſion, it was deemed improper, on the part of the young lady, to marry at ſo tender an age. They accordingly agreed to defer this happineſs, until he ſhould either attain

his

his thirtieth year, or be in poſſeſſion of ſome employment. This was calculating on ſeven or eight years patience; but he hoped, within that period, which was a whole age for lovers, to render himſelf, by ſome means or another, independent.

Being well acquainted with his father's averſion towards his miſtreſs's mother, he had carefully concealed from him his reſidence at Pontaudemer, having always dated his letters from St. Lô.

The regiment marched from the latter of theſe places in the beginning of 1763, in order to be diſbanded at Abbeville; but Dumouriez eaſily obtained leave from his ſuperiors to remain a month longer at Pontaudemer. This month was drawing towards a cloſe, and he was ready to ſet off to rejoin his *corps*, when his father, who, by the indiſcretion of an officer, had learned what was paſſing, wrote a moſt outrageous letter to his ſiſter. In this he ſtated that ſhe was the cauſe of his ſon's diſobedience, and of all the untruths he had been telling him, on account of her wiſh to diſencumber herſelf of one of her daughters; that his ſon was without fortune, and would be ſoon alſo deſtitute of employment; but that if he were in poſſeſſion

of

of both, ſhe might very readily ſuppoſe that he would never conſent to ſuch an union. In the courſe of this epiſtle he expreſſed himſelf in a manner almoſt incredible on the part of a virtuous man, for he threw out the moſt cruel doubts relative to the conduct of his own nieces. Encloſed within the ſame cover was a very dry billet for his ſon, containing an order to join his regiment immediately.

His aunt, who was as much blinded by paſſion as her brother, read this epiſtle to her two children, and her nephew, on whom ſhe caſt all the blame, with ſettled fury in her countenance; and when her younger daughter replied in a firm tone of voice, that ſhe would always love her couſin, and would never conſent to have any other huſband, ſhe commanded her to prepare to enter a convent. We in vain repreſented to her that ſuch a conduct, on the departure of her nephew, would be the means of creating unjuſt ſuſpicions relative to the honour of her younger daughter. It was alſo in vain that we employed the intervention of friends; no body, not even her own huſband, was able to diſſuade her from ſuch an imprudent ſtep.

On this her elder daughter determined to act a very noble part; ſhe announced to her mother

that

that ſhe would accompany her ſiſter to the convent, and remain along with her there until her own marriage took place, which ſhe hoped would not be much longer delayed.

The two young ladies accordingly departed for Caen, at the ſame time that Dumouriez ſet off for Abbeville: and thus this fatal letter very unjuſtly occaſioned the unhappineſs of a whole family.

While writing the hiſtory of his life, Dumouriez ought to ſacrifice every other conſideration to his deſire of telling the truth, and make an open confeſſion of what may even be deemed a reproach.

He had witneſſed the late occurrences with a ſilent deſpair; he loved his father; he was indebted to him for his education; but it was impoſſible to pardon him the injuries he had committed againſt his couſin, who had left her mother's houſe very much indiſpoſed. He could not determine, however, either to revenge himſelf on a parent, or to leave his cruelty entirely unpuniſhed; he himſelf had been the innocent cauſe of the misfortunes that had taken place in his aunt's family, and he had now no proſpect of repairing them, as he was about to be deprived of his livelihood. After the loſs of it,

he

he would be conſtrained to return to his father's houſe; but he could not bear the very idea of living along with the author of all his ills, and being dependent upon him for his ſubſiſtence.

He had never been attached to life, and this is the reaſon why he has conſtantly diſplayed a certain degree of tranquillity amidſt all the events which have either menaced or affected his exiſtence. He thought that after his death, his couſin, who was ſtill very young, being diſengaged from her promiſe, might forget an unfortunate paſſion, and be once more happy in ſome new attachment.

Although born with ſtrong paſſions, he had notwithſtanding been accuſtomed to reaſon in all his actions. Inſtead therefore of following the great road of Picardy, he croſſed the Seine in a ferry boat, a little below Rouen, and wandered along the borders of the ocean. There is not any body but knows from experience, that the murmuring of the waves of this terrible element, inſpires ideas at once profound and melancholy. He was on foot, and his ſervant, who led his horſes, followed him at a little diſtance. Nothing occurred to his imagination to combat the deſperate reſolutions he had formed.

He entered Dieppe, and met ſeveral of his

friends, but did not evince the leaſt ſymptom that could indicate the event which he had meditated. Having left them for a few minutes, he went to an apothecary's ſhop, where he purchaſed fifteen grains of opium, returned, and ſupped along with a number of his acquaintances in the utmoſt tranquillity, then wrote a letter to his father, in which he thanked him for the education he had beſtowed upon him, aſſured him of his affection, and told him that he died a victim to his cruelty. After this he put the letter into the poſt office, went to bed, and ſwallowed the opium in a glaſs of water.

His blood ſoon after became agitated, and his ideas experienced a total revolution. Suicide appeared to him to be at once cowardly and abſurd; he foreſaw that his death might occaſion that of a father, who poſſeſſed a mind replete with violence and ſenſibility, and he anticipated the agonies of his couſin, who he imagined would not ſurvive him. Full of horror at his own miſconduct, condemning as puſillanimous this act of deſpair, which but two minutes before he regarded as a proof of heroic courage, he aroſe in the moſt furious agitation, ſallied into the gallery, where a lamp was ſtill burning,

ſwallowed all the oil, diſcharged the contents of his ſtomach by means of the moſt violent efforts, and then fell down in a ſwoon.

At the end of an hour or two he recovered his ſenſes, collected his ideas, which were very confuſed, with great difficulty got upon his feet, and with ſtill more regained his chamber. It was extremely fortunate for him that every body was now aſleep; he therefore without being diſcovered got once more into bed, where retching afreſh, and a ſevere ſweat enſuing, he impatiently waited for the return of day. He then aroſe, and found himſelf extremely weak. Notwithſtanding this, he wrote another letter to his father replete with repentance and true philoſophy, and immediately afterwards departed.

It happened very luckily, that, in order to prevent the deſpair of his unfortunate couſin, he had been prudent enough to conceal his fatal reſolutions from her; ſhe was entirely unacquainted with them until many years afterwards.

On his arrival at Abeville, he learned that his father was extremely ill; and on hearing this, he poured out the bittereſt and beſt founded reproaches againſt himſelf, on account of his recent conduct. This unhappy parent had received

ceived his ſecond letter, but it could not remedy the effects produced by the firſt on ſo impetuous a character.

The agitation of his mind was ſo much the more violent, as, in order to conceal this deſperate action on the part of his ſon, he had inſtantly deſtroyed the horrid epiſtle, and could not prevail upon himſelf to confide the cauſe of his afflictions to any one.

About a fortnight after this event, the inſpector general reviewed the troops previouſly to their being diſbanded; on which he went and waited on his father, who pardoned him; but there remained a certain degree of coolneſs between them, which continued but too long. This anecdote was divulged only to three friends, to whom he was obliged to confide the ſecret on account of the arrangement of his affairs: but even theſe were too many. His father however never reproached him relative to this affair, becauſe his reproaches muſt have finally reverted on himſelf.

Dumouriez, at the end of ſeven years, had received no other recompenſe for his ſervices but twenty-two wounds, a ſterile decoration *, a brevet

* The croſs of St. Louis.—*Tranſ.*

of a penſion of ſix hundred livres (£25 ſterling) per annum, which was never paid to him, and a long liſt of debts. He was only twenty-four years old, he was without profeſſion, without fortune, and forced to live at the expenſe of a father, who was poor, infirm, peeviſh, and impatient. The letters he received from his couſin, who ſupported her ſeclusion from the world with increaſed diſlike, as her ſiſter had juſt been married, imprinted on his mind a firm reſolution to render himſelf independent, that he might thus be enabled to procure her deliverance.

His father often reſided in the country, but as he had a houſe at Paris, his ſon generally remained in that city. He had formed an intimate acquaintance about this time with the celebrated Favier, the moſt able politician in all Europe; but who, by retaining, in an advanced period in life, a fiery temperament, more fitted to a young man of twenty, and poſſeſſing a waſpiſh diſpoſition, made himſelf hated by all the miniſters, who nevertheleſs conſulted him as the moſt intelligent man of his age. He has died ſince very poor, having had only a penſion of ſix thouſand livres, which was far from being ſufficient for the enormous cravings of his inſatiable

ſatiable paſſions. From him Dumouriez learned all that he knows relative to politics.

He had another intimate friend, whoſe age was better ſuited to his own; he was called Bullioud, and poſſeſſed a charming perſon. It was rumoured that the mother of the infamous Philip duke of Orleans, to whom he had been page, had exhauſted his youthful vigour. He had received the croſs of St. Louis when only fifteen years of age, on account of his heroic conduct at the battle of Crefelt; at the period now alluded to, he was twenty-two years old. Their fate was ſimilar; both of them were rivals in glory, avaricious of knowledge, deſtitute of fortune, without any profeſſion, in love with their own couſin-germans, who were in Normandy, and viſited each other. Croſſed in their affections by parents equally imperious, they had ſo arranged matters in order to keep up a correſpondence with their miſtreſſes, that Bullioud's couſin addreſſed her letters to Dumouriez, while the couſin of Dumouriez ſent her's under cover to Builloud. They ſpent their whole time in conſoling each other, in fortifying their minds, and in ſtudying together. This unfortunate and amiable young man was given over by the phyſicians on account of a con-

ſumptive malady which affected his cheſt, and he died ſoon after in the arms of his friend, who will for ever continue to lament his loſs. He is in ſome meaſure conſoled however by the reflection, that he did not live long enough to behold the calamities of his country.

Dumouriez, who was reduced nearly to deſpair by his untimely end, deemed it his duty to conſecrate the name of the young hero whom France had juſt loſt, by means of a public homage to his memory; and he accordingly cauſed the following epitaph to be inſerted in the Mercury*:

Bullioud eſt mort au printemps de ſon âge:
Comme une fleur, il n'a duré qu'un jour.
De Mars il avoit le courage,
Et l'air ſéduiſant de l'Amour.
La Gloire, en lettres d'or, a gravé dans ſon temple
Un trait de ſa prudence, et de ſa fermeté,
Afin qu'aux vieux guerriers il pût ſervir d'exemple,
Et lui valût *l'honneur* de l'immortalité.

In early ſpring Bullioud reſigns his breath,
(So droops its head a flow'r blown but a day)
Bold as the god of war in fields of death,
Form'd like the god of love for am'rous play.

* *Le Mercure Français*, a literary and political work, formerly publiſhed in Paris once a week.—*Tranſ.*

In

In glory's temple are his deeds enroll'd,
There golden records ſhall his fame preſerve,
That the hoar vet'rans who his praiſe behold,
May learn immortal honours to deſerve.

Dumouriez does not here inſert verſes which can merely lay claim to mediocrity, from any other motive than that of renewing, after the lapſe of thirty years, the tribute of his eſteem and his grief.

On loſing this friend he fell into a ſtate of extreme melancholy. Paris appeared a deſert to him, and his father's houſe an inſupportable priſon. He reſolved therefore to travel; but he was certain of not being able to obtain his father's permiſſion.

Having ſcraped together about one hundred *louis d'or*, he waited on the duke de Choiſeul, and obſerved to him that the peace having deprived him of employment, he was about to travel to gain inſtruction; that he demanded nothing more than a paſſport, and leave to write to him; but if his letters ſhould appear worthy of attention, he then requeſted to be honoured with his anſwers, and either to be appointed a ſituation in the military, or diplomatic line.

This miniſter commended his reſolution, promiſed that he would not forget him, preſented

him with a paſſport, and intimated his intention of furniſhing him with letters of recommendation.

The firſt ſtep having been thus taken, he wrote a very affectionate and rational letter to his father, in which he deſcribed the ſtate of his mind, and mentioned his deſpair at being a burden to him at the age of twenty-four; he at the ſame time indicated his firm reſolution of trying to better his fortune in a foreign country. He then concluded by obſerving, that he would never return to France until he ſhould have acquired an independency.

He left this letter on the table, and ſet out immediately for Italy, without forming any certain plan, being reſigned entirely to the guidance of his ſtars.

His father no ſooner learned his intentions, than he poſted to Verſailles, and following the bent of his character, ſolicited a *lettre de cachet* againſt his ſon. The duke de Choiſeul however appeaſed his wrath, and diminiſhed his uneaſineſs, by telling him that he was in the young man's confidence, and approved of his intentions.

In the mean time, Dumouriez, now on his journey to Italy, whither he travelled alone, often

often on foot, and occaſionally in all ſorts of vehicles, reſumed his gaiety, his courage, and his hopes. His imagination was agreeably occupied with great projects, and he wrote whole volumes of obſervations, as he was ſedulouſly bent on ſeeing every thing.

O happy age, when every object wears a ſmiling aſpect, and all nature appears beautiful and enchanting! when the vigour of the body, and the purity of a youthful mind, do not permit, even in the midſt of miſhaps and misfortunes, any but encouraging hopes, and great and courageous ideas! Thou art gone, and after having aſcended all the ſteps of fortune's ladder, Dumouriez has fallen to a greater comparative degree of abaſement, than was the height to which he once aroſe! But his courage is ſtill the ſame; the nobleſt objects occupy his thoughts, and all his ſenſibility, which is as active as heretofore, is turned towards his unhappy country; if he could but one day aſſiſt in turning it from its preſent barbarous anarchy, he would be truly happy; but if Providence do not grant him this boon, reſigned as to events independent of his own volition, and having no reproaches to make to himſelf on the ſcore of

his principles, he will wait for the concluſion of his life with a calm intrepidity.

At length Dumouriez arrived at Genoa. He ſpoke Italian with fluency, ſung, made verſes, was extremely gay and lively, and only twenty-four years of age. Mr. Boyer, an amiable man, who had been long connected with the duke de Choiſeul, and who was miniſter from France to the republic, received him with politeneſs, and preſented him to the *queens of Corſica**. He was ſoon elevated to the dignity of *ciceſbeo* to one of theſe ladies, but at the end of a week, he became completely tired of *converſazioni*, and the ceremonious punctilios neceſſary to be obſerved in his new employment. He alſo formed an acquaintance with the ſenator Lomellini, a man poſſeſſing both wit and knowledge, who had been long ambaſſador to France, and afterwards doge. With that ingenuouſneſs ſo common at this time of life, he detailed to him the particulars of his travels, and in ſhort all his difficulties.

Intelligence was received about this time,

* The *kingdom* of Corſica was at this period in the poſſeſſion of the ariſtocracy of Geneva; and it is aſſerted, that the ſenators, as *kings* of that iſland, wore a royal crown annexed to their family arms.—*Tranſ.*

that

that Paoli had laid ſiege to St. Fiorenzo; on this the republic determined to ſend five hundred men to its ſuccour. Backed in his pretenſions by the miniſter of France and by Lomellini, he ſolicited the command of the troops intended to be employed on this expedition. It was objected, however, that he had never ſerved but in the cavalry, and the preference was accordingly given to an old knight of St. Louis, called Lantieri, born in the dominions of Genoa, and a captain in the royal Corſican regiment, in the ſervice of France.

On this he left Genoa, paſſed through Florence, in which city he got acquainted with a learned *abbate* of the name of Lami, and arrived at Rome, where he met Vatellet, a farmer-general, and member of the French academy, in whoſe company he viſited the principal antiquities during eight days, and immediately after ſet out for Leghorn.

The petty war then carrying on in Corſica faſcinated his imagination; and having been prevented from entering into the pay of Genoa, he determined to ſerve againſt that ſtate. He accordingly wrote to general Paoli, and proffered his ſervices, and thoſe of four other French officers, whom he found at Leghorn, advanced

ſome

ſome money to, and engaged in the undertaking. He diſpatched a letter by one of them to Corſica; his envoy, who returned ſoon after, brought him a very polite refuſal on the part of the general.

While waiting for an anſwer, he had formed an intimacy with a young lieutenant of the royal Corſican regiment, called Coſta de Caſtellana. His father, a knight of St. Louis, and a captain of grenadiers in the ſame *corps*, who happened to be a determined enemy to Paoli, languiſhed at this time in a jail in Corte. This family, which was very powerful in the *pieve* * of Moriani, was intimately connected with the Fabiani of la Balagne, and many chiefs in different *pieves*. All the people *on the other ſide of the mountains*, leagued with this faction, acted under the orders of the two brothers Girolamo and Luca Abbattucci, and carried on an open war againſt Paoli.

That general, on the other hand, kept up a ſecret correſpondence with England, and at the ſame time amuſed the duke de Choiſeul with a

* Corſica was, and ſtill is, portioned out into two grand national diviſions, of *this ſide the mountains*, *and the other ſide the mountains*, and ſubdivided into *pieves* or diſtricts.—*Tranſ.*

pretended

pretended negotiation, the latter having privately ſent an emiſſary to him, called Valcroiſſant, who was a lieutenant-colonel of dragoons.

The duke was then treating with Genoa about furniſhing that ſtate with ſix ſubſidiary battalions, which were intended to garriſon Baſtia, St. Fiorenzo, Algaiola, Calvi, and Ajaccio. This negotiation was far advanced; and Boyer, the French miniſter, did not conceal it from Dumouriez, who had inſtantly taken the liberty to diſapprove of it.

In the mean while Corſican boats were arriving almoſt daily at Leghorn, for the purpoſe of keeping up a communication with young Coſta, who, ſince the impriſonment of his father, began to be conſidered as a kind of chieftain. It was propoſed, in the courſe of ſeveral conferences, to Dumouriez, that he ſhould go and negotiate, on their part, with the duke de Choiſeul, they promiſing to humble Paoli, and to enter warmly into the intereſts of France, provided the duke would ſend them arms, ammunition, and a few matroſſes. He, however, rejected this propoſition, aſſuring them at the ſame time, that the duke, on the concluſion of an unfortunate war, which had nearly exhauſted

France,

France, would never conſent to accept of an offer which would deſpoil the Genoeſe, with whom he was now treating, of their dominions, and embroil the government with England, which would not tamely ſuffer ſuch an invaſion.

After having ſeriouſly reflected on the ſtrength of this party, which governed all the maritime *pieves*, was in poſſeſſion of all the little ſea ports, except thoſe occupied by the Genoeſe, who had juſt foiled Paoli, in his attempt on St. Fiorenzo, advantageouſly ſituated on a very fine bay, and which, in ſhort, could aſſemble from twelve to fifteen thouſand fighting men, he propoſed to them to render themſelves independent; as the firſt ſtep to which, they ſhould begin by attacking Paoli's faction. He added, that after this he himſelf would undertake to negotiate with the duke de Choiſeul in ſuch a manner, that without publicly acknowledging their independence, he might ſecretly favour their efforts, and indirectly furniſh them with all the aſſiſtance of which they ſtood in need. As to the treaty between France and Genoa, it preſented no more than an apparent difficulty, as it could only be defenſive in reſpect to the places which were to receive a French garriſon; their

their neutrality was aſſured, and thoſe very garriſons were admirably calculated to ſupply them with ammunition, and alſo with officers, cannoniers, and ſoldiers, under the pretence of deſertion.

This project was unanimouſly acceded to, and Dumouriez drew up the plan of the new republic. Their emiſſaries procured the ſignatures of twenty-four chiefs of *pieves* to it. Coſta then ſet off for Moriani. Dumouriez hired a French veſſel, in which he embarked along with five diſbanded officers in order to ſail for Porto-Vecchio. In caſe the ſcheme of a republic had ſucceeded, he was to have reaped great advantages, and even to have commanded its army: thus he would at the ſame time have been enabled to have made his fortune, and to have conſummated his marriage.

On his arrival at Porto-Vecchio, where he found only a few centinels, as this was the ſeaſon when all the inhabitants retire on account of the fatal exhalations ariſing from the marſhes, he deemed it proper to order the veſſel to anchor under the *Torre San Benedetto*, at the entrance of the bay, to avoid the infectious air; he then repaired to Sartenne, where he entered into a correſpondence with ſeveral of the leading men, all of whom approved of his plan.

Thence

Thence he departed for the defiles of Bogognano, where he found one of the Abbattucci, who, with a few troops, defended the paſſages againſt Paoli's army. After having converſed with him relative to the project of a republic, he haſtily marked out ſome intrenchments neceſſary for his ſafety, but which he neglected to throw up; he was killed ſoon after, and the defile was forced.

He then haſtened to return to Sartenne, where an aſſembly was to be held of ſeveral *pieves* to undertake, according to report, the ſiege of Bonifaccio; that is to ſay, to fire at the place with muſket ſhot. The Genoeſe had only one hundred and thirty men there, commanded by one Pibus, a Frenchman, a native of Bayonne.

He accordingly found at Sartenne an aſſembly of about three thouſand men, all extremely active, and moſt excellent markſmen; in ſhort, very much reſembling the ſavages of Canada. They were commanded by two of their countrymen, both of whom were decorated with the croſs of St. Louis.

On their arrival before the place he requeſted one hundred volunteers, which were intruſted to his command. While the reſt were firing on the ſuburbs, he glided along the houſes with an intention to ſeize on the gate, but being

perceived, three or four guns were pointed at his *corps*, on which the Corſicans, who now heard the cannon balls whiſtle above their heads, betook themſelves to their heels, and he was obliged to follow their example: if they had run as faſt in advancing, as they did in retreating, the town would moſt aſſuredly have been taken. They ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, and each returned to his own home.

On this he prepared to re-embark, happy at having fulfilled the political object which had induced him to undertake the voyage, and not at all ſorry at having gained ſome experience relative to the manner in which the allies fought, and which he ſoon hoped to alter for a better mode.

He had ſeen between Porto-Vecchio and Sartenne ſome very fine timber; he adviſed the inhabitants to mark the beſt trees, without felling them, and then to endeavour to make a good road for their conveyance to Porto-Vecchio, giving aſſurances at the ſame time, that the French would employ them for their marine, and give them in exchange ſuch arms and ammunition as they might be in want of. Theſe good people, notwithſtanding their almoſt invincible averſion to manual labour, actually commenced this grand undertaking, which we found conſiderably

ably advanced five years afterwards, when we took poſſeſſion of the iſland.

Dumouriez now ſet out for Ajaccio, where he found that all the inhabitants, the Greek colony excepted, had engaged in a conſpiracy to ſeize on the citadel. He entered into the particulars of this plot, and prevailed upon them not to carry it into execution until they ſhould hear from him. On this he embarked, and ſet ſail for France: never was any voyage more terrible. In the courſe of one continued tempeſt of fifteen days they were driven oppoſite to Tunis. The ſailors, who were on the point of periſhing from want, were under the neceſſity of arming themſelves and boarding a Neapolitan pink to get proviſions. A ſucceſſion of calm weather followed this dreadful ſtorm. At length, after a paſſage of thirty-three days, they arrived at Marſeilles without maſts, and expecting every minute to founder.

Immediately on their landing, which happened in the beginning of October, he learned that the treaty between France and Genoa had been ſigned a fortnight before, and that the count de Marbeuf, a major-general, was about to ſet off to take upon him the command of the ſix battalions which were to be diſtributed in

thoſe

thoſe places which France had undertaken to garriſon.

Notwithſtanding his late tempeſtuous voyage, he had drawn up, in two ſeparate memorials, an account of all his operations in Corſica, and the propoſitions with which he was intruſted. All his hopes, however, ſeemed to be now entirely blaſted. Notwithſtanding this, he waited on the famous Roux de Corſe, the richeſt and moſt celebrated ſhip-owner in Marſeilles, who, in 1757, had fitted out a fleet of privateers, and made war in his own name, and with his own veſſels, upon England. This man poſſeſſed an ardent genius, which embraced the moſt extenſive projects; to him he unfolded his plans, and entered into an agreement, by which he undertook to tranſport to Corſica arms, ammunition, and cannoneers: all this was within the compaſs of his power. He conſented to repay himſelf with timber proper for ſhip-building, which he was to import from Porto-Vecchio; and he readily conſented even to ſacrifice ſuch ſums of money as he might advance, in the firſt inſtance, provided the project were but to ſucceed. Fictitious bargains were accordingly made under the names of certain Jews of Avignon, to prevent the mer-

chants of Marſeilles from being expoſed to any injury. It was alſo agreed, that if the duke de Choiſeul adopted the plan, a prodigious noiſe ſhould be made on the firſt complaint on the part of Genoa, and that government ſhould iſſue the ſevereſt prohibitions, and even confiſcate two or three little veſſels, which ſhould be pointed out for that purpoſe.

This matter being finally arranged, he ſet out in a chaiſe belonging to a courier, travelled without ſtopping, and, on the fourth day, arrived at Paris. It muſt be owned he returned in rather a ſorry plight, for he had left his clothes and his watch in pawn at Marſeilles, as ſecurity for ſome money borrowed by five officers whom he had hitherto kept in his pay. From a too ſcrupulous delicacy, he had declined to communicate his wants to Roux, a man of a noble and generous diſpoſition, who would have either lent or given him whatever he might have needed. He was now in poſſeſſion of only ten *louis* and ſome linen. Being determined not to preſent himſelf before his father in this condition, he reſolved to ſeek an aſylum with his friend Favier, who received him as if he had been his own ſon. He recounted

to

to him the particulars of his journey to Italy, and his voyage to Corſica; but he did not intruſt him with his plan.

It ſo happened at this very period that Favier was connected with the famous John Dubarry and mademoiſelle l'Ange, or Vaubernier, who afterwards became miſtreſs to the king, and has been ſince guillotined; they were all intereſted relative to the little army deſtined for Corſica. Theſe perſons, merely to increaſe their gains, had formed a coalition with the marquis de Sorba, miniſter from the republic of Genoa, at the court of Verſailles, and were deſirous to ſend at leaſt double the number of ſubſidiary troops that had been agreed upon. The miniſter of Genoa hoped to change the nature of the treaty from defenſive to offenſive, and to engage France in a war with Paoli. All the perſons in the confidence of the duke de Choiſeul had entered into the plot; even his own ſiſter, the ducheſs de Grammont, who was wheedled into it by Julia, her waiting-woman, a famous intriguer, to whom the marquis de Sorba had promiſed, that ſhould every thing ſucceed according to his wiſhes, he would exchange to the amount of five hundred thouſand livres of Nouette's, or the Canada bank bills, which then paſſed at a diſ-

count of ſeventy-five per cent. againſt an equal number of good notes of the bank of St. George*. It was in this manner that the affairs of France were then conducted. The marſhal Duras, and part of the court, were alſo deeply concerned in the fate of Corſica.

Dumouriez arrived at a very critical period for this faction, who wiſhed to diſguiſe their private intereſts under the ſpecious pretext of policy.

Favier had been employed by the coalition to draw up a memorial, for which he was to receive five hundred *louis d'or*. He detailed the whole ſcheme to Dumouriez, and promiſed to procure him one hundred *louis*, provided he would furniſh him with the neceſſary materials. He, on his part, diſſembled his indignation; he had come to Paris expreſsly on purpoſe to treat relative to a project in direct oppoſition to this, and which, without embroiling France, appeared to him to be far more advantageous to her.

Having repaired the next day to Verſailles, he demanded a private audience of the duke de Choiſeul; and this being inſtantly obtained, he detailed to him the particulars of his plan for

* The bank of St. George at Genoa, was then, and is ſtill, in high credit.—*Tranſ.*

rendering

rendering Corſica a republic, and demonſtrated the advantages reſulting from this ſcheme. The miniſter was ſtruck with the truth of his repreſentations, regretted that he had ſigned the late treaty with Genoa, and obſerved that the time for carrying ſuch a project into execution was elapſed.

The anſwer of Dumouriez was prepared beforehand. "Chooſe," ſaid he, "one of the two plans which I now propoſe to you. Suppoſe, in the firſt place, you were to ſtick to your treaty, which is purely defenſive, in that caſe permit Roux de Corſe to furniſh us with ſuccours according to the agreement now before you; then let us act—we ſhall ſoon humble Paoli, whom you ought to diſtruſt, becauſe his heart is entirely bent on deceiving you, and ſome day or other will place you in an embarraſſing ſituation; we ſhall pay due reſpect to ſuch places as you may chooſe to garriſon; and, when once Corſica is united in one party, we ſhall eaſily find expedients for the reſt. But, on the other hand, if the treaty cramp your operations, as it is *defenſive*, and conſequently *paſſive*, I can eaſily point out a mode of withholding the execution, without breaking it. The troops ought to be on board the tranſports by the firſt of November; retard the period of embarkation,

without allowing it to have the appearance of originating in deſign; ſuch delays are extremely common in naval expeditions. I will inſtantly return to Corſica, and ſeize on Ajaccio, which is one of the places deſignated in the treaty. If I do not ſucceed in the enterpriſe, you may fulfil the ſtipulations; but if I be fortunate enough to prevail, the treaty will be broken *de facto*, and you can inſiſt on the Genoeſe either reſtoring matters to their original ſituation, or negotiating again upon a new baſis."

The duke, who coincided entirely as to the juſtice of theſe arguments, evinced the moſt friendly attention to Dumouriez, begged him to maintain an inviolable ſecrecy on the ſubject, and required the ſpace of two days to come to a final determination.

Dumouriez returned to Paris, and perceived, the very next day, that an alarm had taken place in the camp of the coaleſced courtiers. They began to complain of want of firmneſs on the part of the miniſter; they were, however, unable to comprehend the cauſe, and therefore preſſed Favier to finiſh his memorial. Dumouriez, alike faithful to friendſhip and his own plan, had furniſhed him with hints; the memorial was accordingly completed, and ſent to the duke,

duke, and he returned the next day but one to Verſailles.

On his arrival there he inſtantly perceived, by the cold and conſtrained air of the miniſter, that he had entirely changed his opinion; he gueſſed, however, that this alteration could not proceed from the memorial, which contained nothing more than vague and feeble inductions, which he himſelf had already overturned by anticipation in the courſe of his firſt conference. He, however, was careful to recapitulate the arguments which he had before uſed with ſuch ſucceſs. The duke replied dryly, "All this is a mere heap of chimerical projects, I will therefore keep to the treaty." On this Dumouriez obſerved, that it was in the miniſter's power to do what he pleaſed; but as to his own part, he could not permit him to remain any longer ignorant of the means which had been employed to induce him to ſign the treaty in queſtion, or of the endeavours ſtill uſed to alter the nature of it by an augmentation of the ſubſidiary troops, which muſt inevitably lead to a war. Then, after having received the duke's ſolemn promiſe not to make uſe of his name on this occaſion, without mentioning a ſingle word about Favier, and throwing the whole blame on the miniſter

of Genoa, and the *mad* Dubarry, he developed to him all the particulars which had come to his knowledge relative to this intrigue. The duke liſtened to the narration in the greateſt agitation of mind, and taking him affectionately by the hand at the concluſion, addreſſed him as follows: "Allow with me, young man, that the ſituation of a miniſter ought to excite compaſſion. Return to-morrow forenoon at eleven o'clock; I will expedite an order to you, and you ſhall inſtantly ſet off for Corſica." Dumouriez left the duke quite enchanted at his reception; he had juſt given an unequivocal proof of his reſpect for a miniſter full of genius and of talents, for whom he felt an uncommon regard, and to whom he was greatly attached in the ſequel. But the duke was indiſcreet, fickle, and eaſy to be impoſed upon; his ſiſter had ſo much influence over him, that the frequent abuſe of it at laſt produced its entire loſs. He actually betrayed every thing to her; and inſiſted on her diſmiſſing Julia from her ſervice. Means, however, were found to perſuade him, that he had been impoſed upon by a ſeries of calumnies.

On the very next day at eleven o'clock, Dumouriez, whoſe boſom beat high with expectation,

tion, preſented himſelf before the miniſter: it happened to be the very hour when he gave public audience. The hall was full of company; the inner door was opened; the duke made his appearance, ſingled him out with his eye, advanced towards him with a furious air, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "It was you, then, who went and negotiated with the Corſicans without orders, and without permiſſion, and afterwards returned in the diſguiſe of a capuchin." Piqued at this ridiculous addreſs, he thought the miniſter had loſt his ſenſes. On looking about him, he perceived the ſervile courtiers participating in the duke's indignation; but not in the leaſt diſconcerted, he replied as follows: "It is but three days ſince I arrived from Marſeilles; look at my hair—if I had been diſguiſed as a capuchin, it would ſcarcely have grown ſo long by this time."

The anſwer confounded the ſpectators, and eſpecially the miniſter, who loſing his ſenſes in reality, cried out in a furious tone of voice, "Depart hence; you have conducted yourſelf like an adventurer."

On this, Dumouriez loſing his patience, inſtantly rejoined in a rage, "The adventurers are thoſe who play upon you; I am not not an adventurer,

venturer, but an officer full of honour: with my hand and my ſword I can find bread anywhere." On ſaying this, he burſt through the crowd, and inſtantly departed. This diſpute made a deep impreſſion on ſeveral of the ſpectators, and among the reſt on the marſhals de Briſſac and de Biron, who have ever ſince loved and eſteemed him.

The moment he had gotten into the ſtreet, he began to reflect on the danger of his ſituation, for after ſo public a rupture, the miniſter, who was all powerful, might perhaps ſend him to the Baſtille.

He therefore left the great road to Paris, and walked at a haſty pace, dreſſed in a black coat with a ſword by his ſide, and after travelling eight leagues, found himſelf on the highway leading to Rheims. He continued his journey, and at the end of three days arrived at a country houſe belonging to a gentleman in the neighbourhood of that city, who had been a lieutenant in the regiment of Deſcars.

He remained there during two whole days, on purpoſe to determine on his future conduct. At the end of that period, he reſolved to repair to Mons, by the road that leads through Maubeuge. From the latter place he tranſmitted a gay

epiſtle

epiſtle to Favier, beginning with theſe words: "Thou haſt conquered, O Galilean!" In this he detailed the whole of his adventure, and begged him to ſend his trunk to Mons, according to a direction which he encloſed.

This trunk contained all his worldly goods; that is to ſay, an uniform of the regiment of Penthievre, a great coat, eight ſhirts, a few handkerchiefs, ſome ſtilk ſtockings, and a Horace.

He received an anſwer in courſe of poſt, from his kind friend, who ſaid to him: "Thy bad deſigns have proved abortive, but I have received one hundred *louis* on thy account. Thy trunk in four days time will be at Mons. The king of France does not avenge the injuries of the duke of Orleans. Search the pockets of thy uniform." This generous man had tied up ten *louis* in a ribband of St. Louis; he alſo made uſe of all his intereſt with the people about the duke de Choiſeul, on purpoſe to appeaſe him. In the mean time the victory of the coalition was far from being complete; the miniſter kept himſelf on his guard, and general Marbeuf carried no more than ſix battalions along with him. This at leaſt occaſioned a ſaving for the moment; but Sorba, the Genoeſe reſident,

reſident, ſtill found means to complete his projects, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Dumouriez now continued his journey, and lodging at alehouſes in the villages, ſauntered through the cities in ſuch a manner, as to appear a gentleman of the neighbourhood, who was walking about for his amuſement. He at length paſſed the frontiers without being once interrogated, and arrived at Mons, in the beginning of November 1763. He there found his portmanteau, and the preſent from Favier; in addition to this, he himſelf ſtill poſſeſſed ſix *louis*.

He knew many people in Mons, and ſojourned there during a whole month. Thence he immediately wrote a ſubmiſſive but ſpirited letter to the duke de Choiſeul, in which he took the liberty to throw the blame of the late affray entirely upon him. He aſſured him, that he would ſome day be convinced, both of the purity of his intentions, and the truth of all he had informed him; that he reckoned too much on the nobleneſs of his character to imagine that he would ruin a brave young man, on account of an exceſs of paſſion, which it was impoſſible for him to prevent, and which would find an excuſe in his own boſom. He beſought him

at

at the ſame time to obtain the king's permiſſion for him to ſerve in Spain, as a Fleming; he hoped that he would honour him with an anſwer, and tranſmit to him a paſſport, a permiſſion from his majeſty, and letters of recommendation to the ambaſſador of France at Madrid. Towards the concluſion, he aſſured him that ſo far from renouncing the ſervice of his country, he hoped that the duke would have the generoſity to recall him ſpeedily, and that he would endeavour in the mean time to acquire a ſuperiour rank in Spain, not from ambitious motives, but in order to be more uſeful on his return. He at the ſame time encloſed a long memorial relative to Corſica, founded upon this aſſertion: "The treaty with Genoa will neceſſarily produce, in the courſe of a few years, a war with Paoli." He detailed in their proper order the events which would precipitate this war, and inſiſting on the hypotheſis, that it would become indiſpenſable, he pointed out the different modes in which Corſica might be attacked, and ſhewed the beſt manner of profiting by the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and their inteſtine diviſions, ſo as to render the expedition ſhorter, and leſs expenſive.

On his leaving Leghorn, he had purchaſed an excellent

excellent map of Corſica, and two Italian hiſtorians, Giuſtiniani and Merolla, who have narrated the particulars of all the wars that have taken place there. He had alſo ſtudied the campaigns of the marſhal de Termes, under Henry II. and of the marſhal de Maillebois in 1739. The pains and labour beſtowed by him on this ſubject, had reduced him to form a ſyſtem of war, for mountainous regions, which, as the duke de Rohan very juſtly obſerves in his "Perfect Captain," are not ſubject to variations, as in level countries, becauſe in the former the topographical form never varies; whereas in the latter the courſes of the rivers are turned aſide, the foreſts are grubbed up, the moraſſes are drained, lakes are dug or filled up, old cities and villages diſappear; new cities and new villages are built in ſpots hitherto barren and uninhabited; and noble roads and canals offer a variety of communications by land and by water. This memorial produced but little effect at that period, yet it proved very uſeful in the ſequel. He at the ſame time wrote to his father, and recounted every thing that had occurred, the reſolution he had formed, not to preſent himſelf before him until he ſhould be independent of his bounty, and the imperious motives

motives which had forced him to depart without paying his reſpects to him. He embraced this opportunity to inform him of a debt of eight hundred livres which he had contracted at Leghorn, requeſted him to tranſmit this ſum to Mr. Bertellet, conſul of France there, and undertook to reimburſe him, which he afterwards faithfully performed. He alſo encloſed him copies of his diſpatch to the miniſter, and of his memorial on Corſica; and he concluded with beſeeching him to advance him fifty *louis*, to enable him to travel into Spain.

His father ſtood in great need of this letter, for the courtiers who had witneſſed what had paſſed at the miniſter's levee, had depicted the conduct of his ſon in the moſt hideous colours; he accordingly thought himſelf diſhonoured and undone, and could ſcarcely be prevailed upon to ſhew his face. His mind being now ſolaced by this inſtance of unreſerved confidence on the part of his ſon, he waited on the duke de Choiſeul, and was agreeably ſurpriſed to find that he was not only devoid of anger againſt, but even ſpoke well of him. He obſerved in a good humoured tone of voice, "Your ſon is deviliſhly warm, but I am ready to acknowledge, that it was I who committed the firſt offence. He

calculates affairs on a grand ſcale; and if he does not deceive himſelf, he will have great merit in my eyes. Let us allow him to exhauſt his fire againſt the Spaniſh phlegm, it will be of ſervice to him."

At the end of a few days Dumouriez received a large packet, which contained:

1. A very polite letter from the duke.

2. A certificate of nobility, which he had not demanded.

3. The king's permiſſion to enter into the Spaniſh ſervice.

4. A letter of recommendation for the marquis de Grimaldi, miniſter of foreign affairs in Spain.

5. Another for the marquis d'Oſſun, our ambaſſador there.

6. A very tender letter from his own father.

And, 7. A bill of exchange for fifty louis.

On being provided with thoſe papers, he prepared for his departure, inſpired with new hopes and additional gaiety. He at the ſame time wrote to his dear couſin.

CHAP. IV.

Travels into Spain and Portugal.

An adventure occurred to Dumouriez, at the commencement of his journey, which he will here relate, becauſe it contributed to the happineſs of a young lady, who is at preſent the mother of a reſpectable family in the Low Countries. He experienced much pleaſure at Mons, and he was received with great politeneſs by the old prince de Ligne, general Domballes, and at the chapter *.

The ſnow precluded a journey acroſs the Pyrenees, and beſide this, a voyage by ſea was by far more economical. General Domballes, to whom Dumouriez communicated his intentions of embarking at Oſtend, told him

* The *chapter* at Mons, here alluded to, then conſiſted of a foundation for the education and entertainment of thirty ladies of diſtinction, who had the liberty of leaving the community when they intended to marry.—*Tranſ.*

that the widow of an old major general in the ſervice of Spain, called Avendano, had a nephew and niece, who were about to return to Seville, and that he might take advantage of their company, and thus render the paſſage more agreeable. He accordingly deſired his adjutant to carry Dumouriez to her houſe, and preſent him to her.

On his arrival, he beheld a reſpectable old lady, who appeared to be very much afflicted, a young woman, but not handſome, drowned in tears, a man of twenty-five or thirty years of age, of a diſagreeable figure, and whoſe countenance was at once harſh, proud, and inſenſible.

It was agreed, at the firſt viſit, to hire a carriage to Bruges, to go on board the paſſage boat there, and afterwards to embark at Oſtend, in a veſſel bound for Cadiz. In the mean time, a letter was diſpatched to Oſtend, and in the courſe of two days afterwards, Dumouriez received a note from madame Avendano, ſigned by the captain of a French frigate, employed in the merchants ſervice; in which the terms of the paſſage were ſpecified. This captain, whoſe name was Keiſer, a good man, and a very excellent ſailor, came to Mons, and on his depar-

ture for Oſtend, told them, that he would ſend notice beforehand of the day when it was neceſſary they ſhould be on board his ſhip, recommending them at the ſame time to be very exact in reſpect to the time of their departure.

He repaired daily to the houſe, notwithſtanding Fernando Avendano (this was the name of the villain), a gentleman of Seville, gave him a very untoward reception. He did not ſpeak a word of French, not having been above a week at Mons. The good aunt appeared to be ſtill more and more afflicted, and preſſing Dumouriez's hand every time ſhe ſaw him, was accuſtomed to addreſs him thus: "My dear ſir, I conjure you to take this poor child under your protection during the voyage, for I part from her much againſt my inclination."

At length, on the 24th or 25th of November, on receiving previous information from captain Keiſer, the three travellers ſet out at midnight in a carriage hired for the purpoſe. Dumouriez placed himſelf by the ſide of the young lady, notwithſtanding the murmurs of Fernando, to which he paid no manner of attention. The unhappy girl ſighed aloud.

Scarcely had they travelled two leagues, when Fernando, after a torrent of abuſe, began to kick

her legs with his heel. Dumouriez, indignant at this uſage, and recollecting the requeſt of the good old lady, placed his cane and his ſword acroſs each other, ſo as to make the brute underſtand that he would not permit him to perſevere in his cruelty with impunity. On this his fury became appeaſed, and they ſoon after arrived at Bruges.

As ſoon as Fernando had left the carriage, he dragged his unfortunate ſiſter into a ſtable, and began to beat her again. Her cries were ſoon heard, and every body ran to her aſſiſtance. Dumouriez flew in an inſtant, and, after beſtowing five or ſix ſtrokes of his cane on the ſhoulders of this inhuman wretch, obliged him to enter the paſſage-boat; and thus kept him at a diſtance from the young lady, whom he took under his arm.

On their arrival at Oſtend, the Spaniſh ladies of the regiment of Ligne, or *Los Rios*, waited on their countrywoman; he inſtantly confided her to their care; and informed them of the brutality of her brother. He afterwards ſpoke to captain Keiſer on the ſame ſubject, and they concerted meaſures together to prevent the repetition of ſimilar ſcenes during the voyage.

It luckily occurred that a contrary wind prevented their departure for five whole days. During this interval the unhappy girl told theſe ladies, that the monſter to whom ſhe had the misfortune of being ſo nearly related, had undertaken a journey to the Low Countries with no other motive than that of preventing her from reaping any benefit from her aunt's generoſity; that, during the eight days he had reſided at Mons, he had beaten both her and the old lady, and informed her daily that, on their arrival at Seville, he would murder her with his own hand. The ladies mentioned theſe particulars to Dumouriez and Keiſer, who were filled with indignation at the recital: but what right had they to ſeparate a ſiſter from her own brother?

On the 29th of November Dumouriez gave a dinner to the whole party. Fernando ſat by his ſide at table, and behind them was a capacious red hot braſier. This beaſt began to drink, and getting furious in proportion as he ſupplied himſelf with liquor, he attacked his neighbour in the groſſeſt terms; and he having but a very obſcure comprehenſion of what he ſaid, aſked every body around what he meant, and whence proceeded his anger? A Spaniſh officer in the

ſervice of the emperour, called St. Eſtevan, and captain Keiſer, attempted in vain to prevail upon him to be ſilent; his wrath, on the contrary, redoubled, and Keiſer had only time ſufficient to riſe from table, and cry out to Dumouriez, *Have a care!* for Fernando at this inſtant aimed a ſtroke at him with a knife; he avoided the point, ruſhed on his adverſary, and ſeizing him by the throat, threw him head foremoſt into the braſier. On this the women ran out of the apartment, uttering loud ſhrieks; and Keiſer, and two Auſtrian officers, at length reſcued the baſe fellow, who had his hair ſinged, and his clothes burned, from the fire.

After this ſpecimen the company did not long deliberate. They repaired to the town-houſe, whither they dragged Fernando; and having made depoſitions on oath relative to his barbarity, the judges decided that he ſhould leave his ſiſter at liberty, and condemned him to pay a fine of five *louis d'ors*, to bear her expenſes back to Mons. The young lady was accordingly placed under the protection of madame Ruys, and they ſet out inſtantly: ſhe did not know in what manner to teſtify her gratitude towards her deliverer.

Next day but one, the wind becoming favourable,

vourable, Dumouriez embarked along with Fernando, who now appeared to have become all of a ſudden very mild and gentle. The paſſage laſted during a whole month; and, during this period, he took advantage of this wretch's company to improve himſelf in the Spaniſh language, which he ſpoke with facility on his arrival at Cadiz, on the 1ſt of January 1764.

He ſpent eight days in that city very agreeably, having been received with great politeneſs by the French merchants reſiding there, although he had not a ſingle letter of recommendation to any of them. The account he had received of the beauties of the Guadalquivir, excited his curioſity ſo much, that he re-embarked at Cadiz on board a coaſting veſſel, in order to paſs the bar of St. Lucar, and aſcend that river.

The voyage was long, and the company very indifferent. The ſailors were all gypſies. It luckily happened, however, that an officer of the volunteer dragoons of Andalucia was on board as well as Fernando, who now ſeemed very much attached to him. This officer, whoſe name was Salas, and to whom he had related his late adventure, adviſed him, notwithſtanding appearances, to be upon his guard.

On their arrival at Seville, Fernando, who ſtill affected the deepeſt contrition on account of his conduct, and was thanking him every moment for having "reſcued him out of the path that led to *deſtruction*," made uſe of all his perſuaſion to induce him to reſide at his houſe, which he did well in refuſing; for, in two days after, this ruffian attempted to aſſaſſinate him in the inn at which he lodged. Seconded by the generous Salas, he put three *bravos* to flight, and then went and complained to the *aſſiſtente*, or civil magiſtrate, to whom he related what Fernando had done at Mons, and at Oſtend. The *aſſiſtente* ordered the monſter to be impriſoned; and he wrote to captain Keiſer at Cadiz, that he might alſo have his teſtimony againſt him. Dumouriez immediately ſet out for Madrid, and never afterwards learned how the proſecution againſt Fernando terminated.

On his arrival there he was received with great politeneſs by the marquis d'Oſſun. The duke de Choiſeul had carried his goodneſs to ſuch a length, as even to notify his arrival beforehand. This ambaſſadour preſented him to the king, and made him an offer of his table; he ſpoke to him as a father, and adviſed him not to be in haſte, but to conſider well before he

he took any ſtep to obtain an employment in Spain. Although urged by poverty to come to a quick deciſion, yet he deemed it his duty to follow the counſels of this very reſpectable man, to whom he was afterwards under the greateſt obligations.

The marquis d'Oſſun poſſeſſed the character of being extremely ſerious and phlegmatic; but his heart was full of ſenſibility. He was the intimate friend of Charles III, whom he had accompanied from Naples to Spain, and who would never permit him to be diſplaced by any other ambaſſadour. He was very rich, and very charitable. He had married a young lady of the name of Hocquart, whoſe family was all *hump-backed*; he himſelf had an only ſon, very much deformed, and extremely witty; but he was a very diſſipated young man, on whoſe account he experienced much chagrin.

In a ſhort time he permitted Dumouriez to enjoy a ſhare in his friendſhip; his military decoration, his words, his education, his gaiety, intereſted him in his favour. He made him call upon him every morning, and entered into the particulars of the *ſeven years war*; this induced him to write ſome ſhort memoirs on that ſubject, which he preſented to the ambaſſadour.

Emboldened

Emboldened by the attention of the miniſter, he confided to him the particulars of his whole life, his journey to Corſica, and even his quarrel with the duke de Choiſeul. Mr. d'Oſſun, with a great deal of good nature, ſpoke as follows: "I propheſy to you that you will return to France with the rank of colonel, and I will not therefore permit you to enter into the ſervice of Spain. Remain here; I will behave to you like a father." After this, perceiving that the young man appeared to be rather penſive, he divined the cauſe of his embarraſſment.

"Are you rich?" ſaid he to him with a ſmile. "No," replied Dumouriez, "and I do not chooſe to live any longer at the expenſe of my father."

"Very well, make uſe of no ill-timed pride; I will lend you whatever money you may ſtand in need of; and you can repay me at ſome other time." From this moment he in truth treated him as if he had been his own ſon.

Dumouriez made ſeveral excurſions into Catalonia, Granada, and along the ſea coaſt, and he collected obſervations, which he formed into a ſmall volume, entitled, *Eſſay on Spain.* This work,

work, which contains ſome new and curious particulars, and alſo his library, has been confiſcated at Paris by the anarchiſts, and has never appeared in print.

He lived at Madrid along with the whole diplomatic body; but he was particularly connected with the count de Creutz, ambaſſadour from Sweden, de Viſmes *, reſident from England, and Bergher, charge d'affaires from the court of Denmark: they are all three dead.

An adventure occurred in company with thoſe miniſters that afforded great pleaſure to the marquis d'Oſſun. A Pruſſian major, but a Swiſs by nation, and whoſe name was Merle, happened to be at this time at Madrid. He came there to make an offer of his ſervices to raiſe a *corps* of volunteers. He had brought letters for the Engliſh reſident, who introduced him to the diplomatic circle. The bad conduct of our general, and our repeated defeats during the *ſeven years war*, had cauſed the French officers to be every where in diſgrace. This major poſſeſſed a terrible aſpect and a blunt demeanour; he wore a huge ſilver-hilted ſabre, and was

* It is moſt likely that there is ſome miſtake relative to our miniſter at Madrid, during the period alluded to, as this is evidently a foreign name.—*Tranſ.*

clothed in a military dreſs. He was continually inveighing againſt the French nation, and never ſpoke of it but with ſcorn, more eſpecially when he mentioned the army. He was neither deficient in wit, nor in knowledge.

The whole diplomatic body happened to be one day aſſembled at a great entertainment given by the count de Creutz, who has ſince been ambaſſadour from Sweden at Paris, and who died one of the miniſters of Guſtavus III. It was a kind of feſtival which he held in honour of the counteſs Butterlin, a very handſome woman, and the ambaſſadreſs from Ruſſia.

The converſation at the table happened to turn on the invincible navy of Philip II. Merle, by way of exalting the Engliſh, made uſe of ſome very indecent obſervations relative to Spain. Mr. d'Oſſun thought to be able to put an end to this converſation, by coolly quoting the reply of Philip: "I did not ſend my fleet to fight againſt the winds." Merle, however, continued his remarks. Dumouriez cited facts on purpoſe to divert the ſarcaſms of the major, who, after making uſe of the groſſeſt terms, concluded as follows: "You yourſelf are a living proof that the French underſtand no more of hiſtory than of war."

Every

Every body was diſconcerted. Dumouriez, who held a glaſs of wine in his hand, replied in a gay tone of voice, "Defender of queen Elizabeth, I drink your health!" A laugh enſued, and the company ſoon after broke up.

When they had all riſen from table, the count de Creutz took the Pruſſian major aſide, and begged him to retire. Dumouriez, finding himſelf ſurrounded and watched, made a ſign to the marquis d'Oſſun, who ſaid in a grave tone of voice, "Go and look on my table, where you will find the ſong which you compoſed on the counteſs de Butterlin, and which you have forgotten to bring along with you." He had it at this very moment in his pocket; nevertheleſs he flew down ſtairs, got into the ſtreet, where he ſaw his antagoniſt at a diſtance, juſt about to enter a coffee-houſe, frequented chiefly by foreigners, took hold of him by the arm, and pulled him towards the gate leading to the country.

On this the Pruſſian major ſaid to him, "You are but badly armed; I ſhall cleave you in two with my ſabre; you had better wait until to-morrow."

He, in truth, wore a very ſhort ſword; but he would not *delay* his vengeance, being afraid of

of ſome intervening obſtacle, as duels were ſtrictly prohibited in Spain. He accordingly reſolved to diſſemble his intentions:—"You are in the right," replied he, "and I am conſcious of your generoſity. I am even ſorry that you have reduced me to a ſituation in which it is impoſſible to forbear calling you to an account. Let us walk quietly together, and agree upon a proper place for a future meeting." They by this time had paſſed the gate, holding each other by the arm in an amicable manner.

When they had proceeded about a hundred paces, Dumouriez beheld a little narrow ſlip of garden ground extremely proper for his purpoſe; on this he diſentangled himſelf from Merle, puſhed him into the garden, drew his ſword, and exclaimed, "I am ready, defend yourſelf." Merle, who was taken by ſurpriſe, turned pale, aſked pardon, and propoſed to return and make an apology.

—"No; you are a coward, and unworthy to appear in ſuch a ſociety." He was now more affrighted than before.

—"Either fight, or deliver up your ſabre." The cowardly Pruſſian, on this, with a tremulous hand, unlooſed his ſword-belt, and retired.

Dumouriez,

Dumouriez, with the ſame celerity that he had ſet out, returned to the hotel of count de Creutz, and delivering him the ſabre in the preſence of the whole company, ſpoke as follows: "Behold the terrible ſword formerly worn by the defender of queen Elizabeth, he himſelf ſafe and ſound; but I beg you will ſend it to him, as he dares not come to receive it." He then related the whole adventure at the requeſt of the ſpectators, and was greatly applauded on account of his conduct.

In about two days after this the Spaniſh miniſtry, who had received intimation of what had happened, ordered major Merle to be impriſoned under pretence of being a ſpy. De Viſmes, who ſcarcely dared to ſolicit his liberty, ſpoke to Dumouriez on this ſubject, and he inſtantly ran to the priſon, gave a few *louis d'ors* to the unfortunate man, and got Mr. d'Oſſun to intercede for his liberty, which was at length granted, on condition that he ſhould immediately leave Spain. At the end of a few days he went with de Viſmes and releaſed him from jail; the poor fellow, who appeared to be penetrated with the moſt lively gratitude, inſtantly left Madrid, was afterwards taken into the Pruſſian ſervice with the rank of major, embarked on board the fleet

fleet commanded by count Orloff, and died at Paros, with the reputation of being a very good officer.

Dumouriez always deteſted duels, and has been engaged in but very few, having conſtantly avoided the company of young men. This ſpecies of barbarous courage is not in the leaſt connected with true valour. A duel is almoſt always the offspring of a blind paſſion, or an unreaſonable pride. He has often pardoned affronts given him, becauſe, being accompanied neither by publicity nor noiſe, he could accommodate the diſpute either by himſelf, or the mediation of others. This philoſophical principle is become more neceſſary ſince the revolution than before, eſpecially in reſpect to the young emigrants, whoſe tempers are ſoured by their misfortunes, and who attribute ills to him of which he is not the cauſe, but the victim. This falſe opinion of the emigrants of the *firſt edition*, againſt the emigrants of the ſucceeding ones, does much harm to the common cauſe.

The happineſs of Dumouriez endured only for a few months. He was much affected by letters which he received from France. His father was prejudiced againſt him, and wrote

him

him in a very bitter ſtyle; but that which put the finiſhing hand to his misfortunes, was his couſin's reſolution to become a nun. In reply to the very tender epiſtles which he tranſmitted to her, he one day received a packet containing ſeveral of his own letters, one written by his couſin, who was about to take the veil, another from one of the ſuperiours of the convent, and a third from a Jeſuit, who was her confeſſor. All theſe letters, which were replete with *myſticiſm*, concluded by exhorting him to imitate his couſin, and abjure "the abyſs of a wicked world." It was at the ſame time intimated to him not to ſend any more of his epiſtles, as the perſon to whom they were directed would not receive them.

This *call* took place at the end of a fever occaſioned by the ſmall-pox, which had entirely disfigured her face. The young lady poſſeſſed a mind at once ardent, impetuous, and deciſive. She, on this occaſion, underwent a long conflict, which entirely ruined her health during the remainder of her life. As ſhe was a rich heireſs, the prieſts and devotees beſieged her in form, and directed the warm temperament of her paſſions towards religion. Her devotion accordingly was ſoon carried to exceſs; and finding the life of a ſimple nun too inactive, ſhe

took the veil in a convent of female *hoſpitallers* at Bayeux, that ſhe might conſecrate herſelf entirely to the aſſiſtance of the ſick. At the end of ſix months, ſhe herſelf was attacked by ſuch a complication of diſorders, that ſhe was forced to return to the world, and dragged out a weary life, during ſeveral years, in all the frenzy of a too fervent devotion.

He was ſtruck with conſternation on receiving notice of this unexpected and irreparable misfortune; and he confided the cauſe of his ſorrows to the reſpectable marquis d'Oſſun, who, accommodating himſelf to his age and paſſion, endeavoured to amuſe and conſole him.

It was at this period that he formed the reſolution of renouncing his country for ever, and entering into the ſervice of Spain. But he wiſhed to obtain a ſuperiour rank; and, to acquire this, it was neceſſary to render ſome important ſervice, which would prevent the court from heſitating in reſpect to his demand. This was extremely difficult, as this was a time of profound peace.

During the preceding war Spain had invaded Portugal, in 1752, with an army of more than fifty thouſand men. The Portugueſe, who had juſt experienced two great misfortunes, a terrible

rible earthquake, and a formidable conſpiracy, although governed by the marquis de Pombal, one of the greateſt miniſters in Europe, and who might be fairly termed the Richelieu of the ſouth, were not in the leaſt prepared to ſuſtain this aſſault, to which they could only oppoſe an army of ſeventeen thouſand men, and a few newly raiſed Iriſh battalions, which the Engliſh had collected and ſent to them in haſte. The conqueſt of Portugal appeared to be certain; yet, notwithſtanding all this, after a campaign of ſeveral months, the Spaniards only took Almeida, which was but badly defended; they were beaten every where elſe, and were forced to re-enter their own territories, with the loſs of twenty-five thouſand men and their honour.

Dumouriez had procured every poſſible information reſpecting this campaign, by means of the officers who had ſerved in the courſe of it, and eſpecially the Walloon guards, with whom he was intimately connected. He had often ſaid to the marquis d'Oſſun, that he would ſome day demand his permiſſion to make the tour of Portugal with a deſign to reſolve this hiſtorical problem, at leaſt ſo far as concerned the military evolutions; for he did not at all doubt but that the politics of the court had a

certain degree of influence on the otherwiſe inexplicable diſaſters of the Spaniards, and ſuſpected that it might be at Madrid, where their own army found its deſtruction.

He had even collected a variety of curious particulars relative to theſe criminal intrigues; but, above all, he had compoſed an abſtract of this ſhort and ſhameful invaſion, with the idea of being ſome day enabled to ſtudy the ſubject on the ſpot itſelf.

Overwhelmed with chagrin, and panting after an opportunity of diſſipating his gloom, he gave himſelf entirely up to this project. A new career was opened to his imagination, a new people was to be ſtudied, and new intereſts to be examined. He communicated his intentions to the marquis, and at the ſame time confeſſed, as the prime miniſter of Portugal was full of ſuſpicion, and had it in his power to give him a very bad reception, that he ſhould not be able to make himſelf maſter of all the particulars he was deſirous to be informed of, with any degree of ſafety, except under pretence of ſeeking for employment in Portugal; but Dumouriez pledged his word not to accept of it, even if his demand ſhould be acceded to.

The marquis d'Oſſun conſented with repugnance,

nance, and communicated the ſcheme to the duke de Choiſeul. He at the ſame time preſented him with a letter of recommendation to the count de St. Prieſt, ambaſſadour from France at the court of Liſbon, and ſome money. Dumouriez alſo carried along with him a letter of recommendation from de Viſmes, the miniſter from England, to his brother Gerard de Viſmes, a merchant of Liſbon, and a man very amiable in his diſpoſition, and poſſeſſing a cultivated mind: with him he formed a friendſhip that laſted during his life.

He accordingly ſet out for Liſbon, viſited the banks of the Coa, on which Almeida is ſituated, and returned by Coimbra into Spain, aſcending the right-hand ſide of the Tagus, in order to make himſelf maſter of the route of the Spaniards by Abrantes, Caſtelbranco, Villa Velha, and Pennamacor; he then once more entered Portugal by the paſſage leading to Elvas, and repaired to the capital along the great road through Eſtremos and Armada; thence he viſited Oporto, following the courſe of the Duero, proceeded to Miranda and Chaves, returned to Liſbon, and waited on Mr. de St. Prieſt. The introductory letter from the marquis d'Oſſun was very cold and reſerved, becauſe, being ac-

quainted with his intentions of making an offer of his ſervices to the miniſter of Portugal, he did not chooſe to expoſe himſelf to any ſhare of the blame that might reſult from ſuch a proceeding.

Dumouriez in the mean time tranſmitted to Mr. d'Oſſun a large packet, containing obſervations which he alone could decypher, accompanied with a note, in which he beſought him to keep it for him until his return; with which requeſt the ambaſſadour moſt ſcrupulouſly complied, for he never even unſealed the manuſcript.

Dumouriez in a ſhort time found means to get acquainted with the Engliſh, Scotch, and Swiſs officers, who were in great numbers in the ſervice of Portugal. He was admitted to ſeveral audiences by the miniſter, made him an offer of raiſing a regiment, to which he was ſure that he would not accede, ſtudied the hiſtory and topography of the country, traced an offenſive and defenſive ſyſtem for it, made ſome freſh excurſions by way of rectifying his ideas, and tranſmitted two more voluminous packets to the marquis d'Oſſun by perſons in whom he could confide.

The marquis d'Almodovar, ambaſſadour from Spain, and the count de St. Prieſt, who were

deceived

deceived by appearances, treated him very coolly, and wrote againſt him, the one to the court of Madrid, and the other to the marquis d'Oſſun and the duke de Choiſeul. He, on the other hand, ceaſed to viſit them, and ſpent all his time in the ſociety of the Engliſh.

The prime-miniſter refuſed to admit him into the ſervice of Portugal; he, indeed, expected as much, as at this period a tragical adventure occurred at Liſbon, which proved how little beloved the French were by the marquis de Pombal, who was then known under the title of the count d'Oyeras.

This miniſter was a cruel and ſuſpicious deſpot. At the concluſion of the war he had preſerved on the eſtabliſhment a regiment of foreign grenadiers, who were in garriſon at Liſbon. This *corps*, almoſt entirely compoſed of French officers and ſoldiers, was truly military; the colonel was a Frenchman of the name of Peyferrier, and was then called Graveron; he had ſerved, while in his native country, in the *mouſquetaires*, and had been *aide-de-camp* to count d'Héronville. He was a good ſoldier, and ſufficiently beloved at court.

The Scotch faction was jealous of this colonel and his regiment, and they accuſed him of hav-

ing ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the miniſter. This was enough to ruin poor Graveron. The count d'Oyeras inſtantly ordered the accounts of the regiment to be inſpected, and inſtituted a proceſs againſt him. He was not claimed by the French ambaſſadour, who might at leaſt have ſaved his life; and being ſoon after condemned by a council of war, he was ſhot, and the regiment diſbanded.

After having been in want of money, becauſe he did not chooſe to trouble the marquis d'Oſſun, and been ſupplied with what was neceſſary from a French merchant, a man of merit, and at preſent one of the richeſt bankers in Paris, Dumouriez, after nearly a year's reſidence in Portugal, returned to Madrid, without any papers which might lead to a ſuſpicion of his multifarious labours, conſiſting of notes and materials, which he alone could arrange, and which he had been careful to tranſmit by other hands. In addition to an offenſive and defenſive ſyſtem of war, a ſufficiency ſtill remained to form a volume, entitled, "An Eſſay on Portugal," written in 1766, which has ſince been printed at Lauſanne, and is well known.

This work diſcovers a certain degree of negligence in point of ſtyle; it even has ſome errours,

errours, and is deficient in reſpect to ſeveral facts; but it is written very methodically, and it is to be wiſhed that we had a volume of the ſame kind relative to every country in Europe, and that it were reviſed once in twenty years. It would be extremely uſeful for the conduct of courts, and the balance of the reſpective intereſts of ſtates; and it would alſo prevent many errours and faults, the conſequence of miſconceptions on the part of thoſe who govern. It might at the ſame time prove uſeful to philoſophers and travellers.

On his return to Madrid he was received very coolly, as he was looked upon to be a fickle young man, who had been deſirous to enter into the ſervice of an enemy. The marquis d'Oſſun himſelf at firſt treated him with an apparent reſerve. He, however, took poſſeſſion of all his papers, ſhut himſelf up in his chamber, and, at the end of a fortnight, preſented to that ambaſſadour a memoir, entitled, "A Syſtem of Attack and Defence for Portugal." He cauſed two copies to be printed, one for the marquis d'Oſſun, and the other for the duke de Choiſeul; to the latter was annexed a large chart of the courſe of the Tagus, with its principal windings; he had alſo traced the routes and the

camps. The marquis d'Oſſun received orders to preſent this work to the court of Madrid that it might be examined, and that the preliminary points might be adjuſted, ſuch as the formation of a *ſtaff*, the eſtabliſhment of arſenals, nearer than thoſe in Catalonia, hoſpitals, magazines, and other objects of a ſimilar nature.

The ambaſſadour accordingly delivered the memorial to the king of Spain, who gave orders that a commiſſion ſhould be appointed conſiſting of three perſons, the count d'Aranda, captain-general, and the counts de Cagigal and Spinola, lieutenants-general. Theſe were inſtructed to deliver in a report; but it did not produce the leaſt melioration in the military eſtabliſhment of Spain.

Mr. d'Oſſun wiſhed at leaſt to convert this circumſtance to the advantage of his young friend, and accordingly demanded a ſuperiour rank for him. He was ſoon after offered the lieutenant-colonelcy of a *corps* of three battalions, which were levied under the name of foreign volunteers. This offer proceeded from an intrigue on the part of general O'Reilly, who wiſhed to diſmiſs a brave French officer, called Chateauveron. Dumouriez having learned this, refuſed to accept of the command.

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He had at this period quitted the company of the great, and only viſited a few particular friends. He was intimately connected with the duke de Crillon-Mahon, his ſon, the count de Crillon, and prince Emanuel de Salm-Salm, colonel of the regiment of Brabant. This prince was endowed with the moſt eſtimable and amiable qualities. He concerted a plan with him to levy a German regiment of Salm, but they did not ſucceed. They met a few years after, at which period they were all major-generals in the ſervice of France. Would to God they had remained in Spain!

He had at this time conceived a freſh attachment; it was in favour of a young lady who was not very handſome, but who poſſeſſed extraordinary wit and talents. She was the daughter of a Frenchman of the name of Marquet; he was chief architect to the king. She diſcovered an exquiſite ſenſibility, and an exalted mind. She was not rich, and yet ſhe never wiſhed that he ſhould commit the folly of demanding her in marriage, as he himſelf had often deſired. He compoſed two little volumes for her inſtruction, entitled, "Leſſons in Geography," and "Leſſons in Hiſtory and Philoſophy." They, as well as his other manuſcripts,

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are loſt, having become the prey of the anarchiſts. This amiable young woman fell a ſacrifice on his being recalled to France; ſhe became devout, and her father gave her in marriage to an *alcade*, or judge, of Valladolid. She died ſoon after; and, a little before her death, tranſmitted a letter to her old friend, in which ſhe bid him adieu in the moſt tender manner poſſible.

He thus ſpent the year 1767 in Spain, and led a very agreeable life there, thanks to the goodneſs of the marquis d'Oſſun, to the amiable diſpoſition of his friends, and to the affection of mademoiſelle Marquet; but he ſtill remained without any employment whatever.

He learned, about this time, that his elder ſiſter had become abbeſs de Fervacques by mere dint of merit, and that his younger was married to the baron de Schomberg. He was ſtill embroiled with his father, from whom he received freſh reproaches on account of his new paſſion, without being able to gueſs how he had been informed of it. This, however, proves that this kind parent had never entirely forgotten him.

After his journey into Portugal, the ambaſſadour diſplayed leſs zeal than ever, in his endeavours to procure him employment in Spain, and always

always replied to him with much phlegm, whenever he preſſed him on that ſubject. He has ſince had reaſon to think, that this proceeded from the fear of his eſpouſing his miſtreſs as ſoon as he had obtained an appointment.

His conduct occaſioned a correſpondent reſerve on his part towards this excellent miniſter; he dreaded leſt he ſhould abuſe his generoſity, and he was accordingly very much ſtraitened in reſpect to money; but he ſtudied much, had formed agreeable friendſhips, and poſſeſſed an amiable miſtreſs, ſo that his time paſſed away imperceptibly.

The events which had occurred about this period in Corſica, unexpectedly opened to Dumouriez a more active career. All that he had predicted to the duke de Choiſeul in 1763, both in his conferences and his memoirs, had now actually taken place. Paoli on one hand, the Genoeſe and intriguers on the other, had deceived him; muſkets had been fired, and violence committed on our troops. The Corſicans, who poſſeſſed a few armed veſſels, had intercepted ſome of our merchantmen; Paoli encouraged the deſertion of our garriſons; the iſland was in a ſtate of warfare. The duke de Choiſeul, after having concerted meaſures with the court of St.

St. James's, entered into a ſecond treaty with Genoa, by which Corſica was *ſold* to France, and the conqueſt of it determined upon. Preparations were accordingly made to re-inforce our garriſons in that iſland, where they expected to find no reſiſtance, with ten battalions and two legions. The memoir, preſented by Dumouriez in 1763, was then reſcued from oblivion, and re-peruſed; and the duke de Choiſeul, conſulting the nobleneſs of his own diſpoſition, and his natural love of juſtice, reſolved to re-call that officer.

The marquis d'Oſſun ſent one morning in ſearch of him, and on his appearing before him, ſpoke as follows: "I have been a true prophet in reſpect to you, and done you a great ſervice by preventing you from being employed in the Spaniſh army; I have juſt received an order from the duke de Choiſeul, by which you are commanded to return to France; you muſt ſet off to-morrow."

Dumouriez inſtantly ran to his miſtreſs, and, after announcing this intelligence, promiſed to remain faithful to her through life.

"No;" replied ſhe, "follow your deſtiny, and never regard me henceforth, but as your beſt friend."

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He then returned to the ambaſſadour, to whom he related the particulars of his interview with mademoiſelle Marquet. This miniſter was affected with the nobleneſs of a ſacrifice ſo rarely to be met with; and he himſelf waited upon her the very ſame day, to aſſure her of his friendſhip and protection.

He lent thirty *louis d'ors* to Dumouriez, who ſet off in the courſe of the enſuing forenoon, leaving a city with regret where he had been happy during a whole year. His journey to Spain was one of the moſt agreeable he had ever experienced during the courſe of his whole life; and he left many friends behind him in that country.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Corſican War—Campaign of 1768.

DUMOURIEZ arrived in Paris during the month of December 1767. His father reſided there conſtantly; but being deſirous of producing an agreeable ſurpriſe to this parent, by announcing what the miniſter intended to do for him, ſo ſoon as he himſelf ſhould be acquainted with his own deſtiny, he took a lodging in a diſtant quarter, and repoſed himſelf during twenty-four hours, having travelled all the way from Madrid in a very ſevere ſeaſon. After this he repaired to Verſailles.

The duke de Choiſeul received him with great kindneſs, and obſerved, that a war having broken out in Corſica, he had recollected his promiſe, and prevailed upon the king to appoint him deputy quarter-maſter-general of the army, of which the marquis de Chauvelin was to be commander in chief. He at the ſame time begged

begged that he would wait upon and explain to that general the particulars of his memorial.

"After that," added he, "you may make your arrangements, and prepare your camp equipage." Dumouriez, aſſuming confidence, ſaid to him in return, "Alas! in what manner, *M. le duc?* I have nothing but debts; and my father, who is far from being opulent, is unwell. I have travelled during the laſt four years. You have approved of my details relative to Portugal; you are ſo well pleaſed with my memorial on Corſica, that you appear deſirous the plan pointed out there ſhould be adopted. I poſſeſs nothing in the world but the *brevet* for a penſion, which, thanks to the controller-general, is no better than a piece of waſte paper. I aſk not to be enriched, but enable me to ſerve."

The duke had a good, great, and generous heart. "How much do you owe, young man?"

"Fifteen thouſand livres *."

"The devil! It is a great deal of money. Let me ſee——four years penſion, one hundred louis; gratification for your journey and labours relative to Portugal, twelve thouſand livres.

* About £. 670 ſterling.—*Tranſ.*

Will eighteen thouſand livres be ſufficient for you?"

"Yes, M. le duc."

On this he rings a bell, a ſecretary enters, and he orders him to make out an order for eighteen thouſand livres on Labalue, the banker to the court.

However eager he might be to wait on Mr. de Chauvelin, according to the duke's orders, Dumouriez was ſtill more deſirous to ſee his father; he accordingly aſked permiſſion for this purpoſe.

"What," exclaimed the duke, "have not you yet ſeen him?"

"No; we had ſome little difference, but you always find means to reconcile us."

The duke having inſtantly granted him three days for this purpoſe, he flew to Paris, called at the banker's, received his money, waited on his father, who at firſt aſſumed a ſevere air, begged his pardon for all the unhappineſs he had occaſioned, and, after recounting the particulars of his journey, concluded with obſerving, that he had at length obtained a certain and honourable ſituation, and would no longer put him to any more expenſe. He then committed all his money to his care, forced him to repay himſelf the

amount

amount of the debt which he had diſcharged at Leghorn, and laid before him the ſtate of his affairs, charging him at the ſame time to liquidate all demands againſt him. After this, not above a thouſand crowns remained to himſelf. He then hired a little apartment in his neighbourhood, and they remained good friends ever after.

Dumouriez returned next Sunday to Verſailles along with his father, who, although unwell, made an effort to thank the miniſter. The *levée* was crowded; and, by a lucky accident, the marquis de Briſſac happened to be there. The duke de Choiſeul, on this occaſion, meditated a very rare, or rather heroic, action on the part of an all-powerful miniſter. He advanced towards young Dumouriez, took him by the hand, and ſpoke aloud as follows: "This gentleman is an officer to whom I unthinkingly did an injury about four years ſince; the king has juſt appointed him deputy quarter-maſter-general to the army of Corſica; he knows that country well, and I predict that he will ſerve there with reputation."

Every body now complimented him; but he himſelf was aſtoniſhed at the nobleneſs of ſuch a proceeding, and remained ſilent. The marquis

de Briſſac, who had a truly original turn, ſaid to him with much pleaſantry, "It appears to me that you evince more ſenſibility when you are injured, than when you are praiſed."

After this he viſited Mr. de Chauvelin, who, from the firſt moment, honoured him with his confidence, and to the day of his death ſhowed the greateſt friendſhip towards him.

Next morning he had a long converſation with the duke de Choiſeul relative to Spain and Portugal. After exhauſting this ſubject, he ſpoke to him as follows: "I am unable, *M. le duc*, ever fully to teſtify my gratitude to you. I poſſeſs at this moment the means, however inadequate, of proving my eſteem, and you muſt not refuſe me this gratification: I have a commiſſion as a captain of cavalry, which you yourſelf preſented me with; the current price is now from twelve to twenty-four thouſand livres; take meaſures ſo that I may receive eight thouſand livres, according to the *regulation*, and give it to whomſoever you pleaſe." The duke thanked him, and ſaid, "I accept of your offer; but it is my wiſh that you ſhould receive ſome advantage from it." Dumouriez ſtill perſiſting in his original propoſal, pulled out his reſignation of the company in the regiment

regiment of Penthievre from his pocket, and forced the duke to accept it. He was much pleaſed with this proceeding, which he extolled much more than it deſerved.

Dumouriez ſet out for Corſica in the month of May 1768. He waited more than a month at Lyons for his general. It was ſuppoſed that all was ready at Toulon; but, on his arrival there, he did not find any thing in a ſtate of preparation. He concerted all the particulars relative to the ſhipping of the troops with a very able captain belonging to that port, called Truguet: this was a buſineſs entirely new to him. He, however, with little or no aſſiſtance, ſuperintended the embarkation of a legion, ten battalions, horſes, mules, oxen, hoſpitals, proviſion, forage, &c. The whole was not completed until the month of Auguſt. His general had by that time arrived at Toulon; and he was ready to embark with him, when he received a large packet from the miniſter containing particular orders.

When the count d'Aranda, after the revolt at Madrid in 1766, had driven the jeſuits out of Spain, they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Corſica to the amount of four thouſand; they

reſided in that iſland, and lived on the ſmall penſions allowed to them.

The government was at this time buſied alſo in expelling them from France and Corſica. Being now conſidered as part of that country, it was not political to permit this unproductive colony to remain there. The duke de Praſlin, the miniſter of the marine department, had ordered a captain in the navy, called the chevalier de Veſnel, who commanded the brig *Hirondelle*, to put them on board twenty-two coaſting veſſels, and land them in the eccleſiaſtical ſtates. A commiſſary of the marine, and an officer belonging to the ſtaff of the army, were to ſuperintend this *tranſlation*. The duke de Choiſeul had expreſsly appointed Dumouriez to this diſagreeable miſſion.

He accordingly had an interview with the ſea captain and the commiſſary. On reading the orders of the duke de Praſlin, they found them barbarous (in as much as they only granted to each of theſe unfortunate men the ration of a common ſailor) and abſurd, as, without any regard either to the topography of the iſland, or the different bays, winds, &c. they were all to be aſſembled at one given point, which was Calvi.

Calvi. This would have made it an operation of at leaſt two months duration, and coſt a far greater ſum of money than if more ability and humanity had been made uſe of in forming the plan.

His two colleagues having agreed with him in opinion, he ſent off a courier, and ſtated that ſome of theſe jeſuits were related to the grandees of Spain, ſuch as the brothers of the duke of Granada and count de Fuentes, father Cordova, &c.; that there were many venerable old men among them; that by paying to each of them about twenty-pence a day, permitting them to purchaſe their own proviſion in Corſica, and allowing the tranſports to depart from different ports, as they were ready to embark, much money would be ſaved, and thoſe poor people ſatisfied, while the chevalier de Veſnel might cruiſe between the iſlands of Capraya and Gorgona, and thus be able to convoy the tranſports with far greater certainty, than by waiting for them at Calvi. The court was ſatisfied with this arrangement.

Dumouriez then ſailed for Calvi, where the greater part of the jeſuits reſided; and he concerted all the meaſures relative to the embarkation with father Cordova, a man of uncommon

merit. The ſame diſpoſition was uniformly adopted in all the other ports; and he thus got rid of the taſk impoſed upon him, and at the ſame time rendered ſome ſervice to the jeſuits. This buſineſs having detained him only four days, he repaired to Baſtia on the firſt of September.

The marquis de Chauvelin was very happy to ſee him return ſo quickly, for he had no expectation of his being able to rejoin him during the remainder of the campaign. This general, after having ſerved with reputation under the prince de Conti, during the war of 1741, had ſpent the reſt of his life either in foreign embaſſies, or near the perſon of Louis XV, by whom he was greatly beloved. He had nearly forgotten all his knowledge of the art of war, and did not underſtand any thing relative to the practical part of it.

The count de Marbeuf, now appointed lieutenant-general, after commanding four years in Corſica, had entertained hopes of being placed at the head of the army, and was eager to thwart the operations of his leader.

The troops conſiſted of only ſixteen battalions and two legions. As theſe battalions were on the peace eſtabliſhment, and many of the privates

vates abſent on furlough, they did not exceed four hundred rank and file apiece. Each legion contained five hundred men, one half of whom were mounted, and ſerved on horſeback. Of the ſixteen battalions, ſix were quartered at Ajaccio and Calvi; and the whole breadth of a yet unſubdued iſland being between them and the main body, they could not be reckoned as appertaining to it. Four hundred grenadiers and chaſſeurs, who did not arrive until a conſiderable time afterwards, were, however, draughted from them.

Thus the army which was about to take the field did not conſiſt of more than five thouſand men. From theſe were to be deducted the garriſons of Baſtia, Cape-corſe, and St. Fiorenzo, and alſo detachments neceſſary to keep up the communication between St. Fiorenzo and Baſtia, after which there did not remain three thouſand effective men wherewith to open the campaign. The officers had neither camp equipage nor horſes; and there were only one hundred and fifty mules for the carriage of proviſion.

A few days before the arrival of Mr. de Chauvelin, Mr. de Marbeuf had forced general Paoli to abandon Cape-corſe, and the poſts of communication

munication in its neighbourhood. A body of troops was then ſtationed there, while the Corſicans poſted themſelves exactly oppoſite on the heights of Nebbio, de la Croce, Maillebois, and St. Antonio. They occupied a conſiderable extent of ground, well protected by means of intrenchments, and were nearly fifteen thouſand ſtrong.

Mr. de Chauvelin had brought along with him a number of young men belonging to the court, burning with military ardour, and deſirous to make a ſudden conqueſt of Corſica, that they might quickly return and figure away in the ball-room and at the opera. It was impoſſible, according to them, for a *rabble*, conſiſting of a mere herd of peaſants armed with fowling-pieces, unprovided with bayonets, and clothed in brown ſtuff, to make any reſiſtance. The general permitted himſelf to be miſled by theſe.

Having left Baſtia on the third of September, the army repaired to Tegimè, and appeared for the firſt time in the preſence of the enemy. It conſiſted only of two thouſand ſix hundred men. A council of war was held, and every one was for commencing an immediate attack. Dumouriez dared to be of a contrary opinion.

" General,"

"General," ſaid he, "you will aſſault and moſt aſſuredly defeat the Corſicans, and this is preciſely what I dread; you will then be obliged to divide and extend your troops, who will form only two or three feeble columns, and theſe the Corſicans will attack and oblige one after another to retreat, and you will be afterwards forced to retire into the fortified towns . . . . . " They would not liſten to any more; they ſhuddered with indignation, and the murmurs of the audience already reproached him with cowardice. General Marbeuf, having impoſed ſilence, cried with a ſarcaſtic air, "Let us hear this gentleman out. What in your opinion ought we to do?"

"It is my opinion, that we ſhould garriſon the towns, and keep up the communication between them; that the general ſhould ſend an officer to the duke de Choiſeul to demand a reinforcement of eight complete battalions and eight hundred more mules, for the commiſſary will inform you, that it is impoſſible to ſupply your army by means of only one hundred and fifty, eſpecially when it is divided into columns. Let the ſoldiers abſent on furlough, and the recruits be ordered to join; let the cuſtomary gratifications on taking the field be iſſued to

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the officers; and, until an anſwer ſhall arrive from the miniſter, let a negotiation be entered into with the Corſicans with a view to gain over a party which deteſts Paoli, and even to arm them againſt him." This advice was unanimouſly rejected, and preparations were made for an immediate attack.

Dumouriez was not known in this army; he was therefore under the neceſſity of repairing the apparent faint-heartedneſs of his opinion by the bravery of his conduct. He obtained leave, in the order of battle, to be ſtationed along with the column of the centre, which was to ſtorm the three grand redoubts of Croce, Maillebois, and St. Antonio. He inſtantly placed himſelf at its head with a ſerjeant and twelve grenadiers of the regiment of Rouergue, and they ran as faſt as poſſible to take ſhelter under the ſteepeſt part of the aſcent.

He obſerved the nature of the ground, which conſiſted of rocks piled upon each other, and theſe it was extremely difficult to ſcale, on account of the thickneſs of the underwood; they, however, ſucceeded in the attempt, and were never once expoſed to the fire of the Corſicans, until they began to throw down

down the wall of dry ſtones which ſurrounded the platform of the mountain. A ſingle grenadier only was wounded, and that but ſlightly. Dumouriez, in an embroidered uniform, and with no other weapon but a cane ſhod with an iron ferrule, was attacked on jumping into the redoubt by the Corſican commander, who was endeavouring to rally his men; he, however, found means to knock him down with his cane, and to take him priſoner. Two or three hundred of the enemy, who were ſtationed here, fled, and precipitated themſelves from the rocks; the grenadiers ſtabbed about a ſcore of them with their bayonets, and the column, which witneſſed the whole at the diſtance of two hundred paces, would no longer liſten to the voice of its leaders, but inſtantly ſcaled and entered the redoubt.

Continuing to ſerve as a vanguard along with his twelve heroes, he ſoon arrived at the ſecond redoubt; but they were then ſupported by the main body, which followed cloſe after them. In ſhort, in leſs than an hour all the three redoubts were carried, and the Corſicans, whoſe centre had been pierced, ran away on all ſides. Perceiving, however, that the enemy's right wing ſtill ſupported itſelf in Fivriani, he prevailed

vailed upon d'Arcambel, colonel of the regiment of Rouergue, to make a movement towards the left, on purpoſe to turn their flank.

The combat at length ceaſed; in the courſe of it the Corſicans loſt about three hundred men, and the French not more than fifteen or twenty. As the action was now at an end, he entered a houſe, drank a little brandy, eat ſome ammunition bread that was preſented him by one of his brave companions, and then fell aſleep. At the expiration of about an hour, his horſe was brought him, and he went and joined Mr. de Chauvelin. As the Corſicans did not poſſeſs any cannon, this general had had a near view of the engagement, and frequently ſaid to thoſe who ſurrounded him, "You will ſee this good little man get himſelf knocked on the head on account of his opinion."

On his arrival, every body was crowding around Mr. de Chauvelin, who had ſeveral times inquired after him. The general embraced and loaded him with eulogiums. He then ſaid in a loud voice, "I knew well, general, that we ſhould beat them; I beſeech you, however, to remain where you are, and to demand a reinforcement of battalions and mules as faſt as poſſible, for you cannot advance. I have not changed

changed my opinion, but, on the contrary, am ſtill prepared to ſupport it, as I am now better known than before." He then returned to his column, and Mr. de Chauvelin charged him to meet him at Baſtia in the courſe of the evening.

There were three ſagacious and well-informed men in the army: Beauvoir, a brigadier, and commanding officer of the artillery; Daumont, major-general, and at the head of the engineers; and Delille, commiſſary of proviſion, who had ſerved during the war of ſeven years, and who was better acquainted with military affairs than the officers who had voted in the council of war. All theſe were of the ſame way of thinking as Dumouriez; but the former two were prevented by the young men belonging to the court from backing his opinion. During the engagement they had ſtood cloſe to the general; and Delille, who was open-hearted and frank, reſumed the ſubject, diſcuſſed the arguments on both ſides, and made him perceive the neceſſity of following the advice of Dumouriez. Mr. de Chauvelin was convinced, but he did not wiſh it to be thought that he had retracted his opinion; beſides, the action was not yet over, and he waited the event.

Dumouriez

Dumouriez being detained with the troops in conſequence of indiſpenſable buſineſs, did not reach Baſtia till three o'clock in the morning, and then repaired to his lodgings, as he did not wiſh to awaken his general, whom he ſuppoſed to be aſleep, more eſpecially as he himſelf ſtood in great need of repoſe. He was told, that the *aids-de-camp* had been ſeveral times inquiring for him; he, however, did not pay any great attention to this intelligence; but as he was undreſſing himſelf, one of them arrived, and told him, that he was expected at head-quarters with great impatience.

He found the general in bed, ſurrounded by the three perſons who had induced him to change his mind. Mr. de Chauvelin then announced to him that he had adopted his advice, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould inſtantly ſet off for Paris.

"No," replied he, "I am too young, and too little known. No one can ſucceed better than Mr. Delille; the duke de Choiſeul eſteems him, and he will obtain every thing we ſtand in need of, ſuch as battalions, mules, forage, money, and aſſiſtance of all kinds." Beauvoir and d'Aumont ſupported this propoſition.

Delille conſented to go, but he wiſhed to carry all the neceſſary papers along with him, ſo that the duke de Choiſeul's ſignature ſhould be alone wanting. Delille, Dumouriez, and a perſon called Taurel, who was ſecretary to the general, ſhut themſelves up in an apartment during forty-eight hours, made out all the calculations, and prepared the neceſſary ſtatements. Delille then ſet out, arrived at Paris, was gratified in reſpect to all his demands, and returned at the end of three weeks. Dumouriez, overwhelmed with labour and fatigue, ſlept for twelve hours; he was ſoon after entruſted to head a reconnoitring party on the banks of the Guolo, a circumſtance which occaſioned many ſubſequent misfortunes.

After the engagement on the 5th of December, the little army was divided into two bodies; one conſiſting of ſix battalions and a legion, under the orders of Mr. de Marbeuf, remained either encamped on the heights of St. Antonio, or cantoned at Fivriani and Biguglia. The other, which was compoſed of four battalions and a legion, commanded by Mr. de Grandmaiſon; a major general, was encamped on the heights of St. Nicholas, before Olmetta and Oletta, and in front of Nebbio. The poſition was a good

one, for theſe two ſmall bodies were thus enabled to ſupport each other, poſſeſſed the advantage ariſing from commanding ground, were not far diſtant from the towns of Baſtia and St. Fiorenzo, and were accordingly capable of receiving ſuccours from France.

Paoli had retired behind the Guolo, but his advanced parties extended as far as Bevindo, on the ſide of the mountain, and towards the ſea to the lake of Ciurlino. Mr. de Marbeuf, to enſure the tranquillity of his camp of Notre-Dame Dell'Orto, reſolved to occupy three villages which commanded the Guolo, viz. Borgo, Vignale, and Lucciana. The inhabitants had come of their own accord to ſolicit the general to ſend troops thither. The Corſicans love liberty; we had landed on their iſland on purpoſe to conquer them, and they laid a ſnare with a deſign to entrap us:—they were in the right. A lieutenant colonel, of the name of Duvalés, was ſent at the head of two hundred and fifty men to guard thoſe villages; and Dumouriez, who was entruſted with the care of poſting them, was eſcorted by a detachment of twenty dragoons of the royal legion. He was at the ſame time ordered to reconnoitre the bridge acroſs the Guolo, and to

point

point out where a redoubt could be moſt advantageouſly thrown up to defend the paſſage of that river.

On his arrival at Borgo, which was about three leagues diſtant from the camp, he diſcovered an embarraſſed and myſterious air in the faces of the inhabitants, more eſpecially the women. He communicated this circumſtance to the lieutenant colonel; and as Paoli was at only half a league's diſtance from the oppoſite bank of the Guolo, he gave him orders in writing to quarter all the troops at Borgo, without occupying the two other villages. In the mean time he entered into two or three of the houſes; in one of them he found a young woman very much terrified, with two beautiful children; he fondled them, and preſented a crown to the mother, who adviſed him, while the tears ſtreamed down her cheeks, inſtantly to ſave himſelf and his men, elſe they would be murdered in the courſe of the following night by the Corſicans.

The village of Borgo forms a kind of citadel on the ſummit of a hill, in the form of a ſugar-loaf, at the apex of which are an entrenched church, and a few houſes provided with loop-holes for muſketry. The village itſelf is below,

and is built along the face of the mountain in the manner of an amphitheatre. The plain is more than fifty feet underneath, and the houſes can only be reached by means of a winding road, which is protected on the outward ſide with a wall. This place has always proved fatal to the French. Mr. de Boiffieux, a lieutenant general, having cauſed it to be garriſoned in 1739, and the Corſicans laying ſiege to it ſoon after, he marched to its ſuccour, was beaten, and retired to Baſtia, where he died of a broken heart.

Having intimated the intelligence to the lieutenant colonel, which he had juſt received from the woman, Dumouriez adviſed him to conceal it from the troops, leſt they ſhould do any injury to the peaſants; he at the ſame time made the neceſſary diſpoſitions in conjunction with this officer relative to the defence of the place; and after an aſſurance that he ſhould ſoon hear from him, he rejoined his twenty dragoons, who were waiting in the plain, near a little houſe called Revinco, at the foot of the mountain of Borgo. All theſe poſitions are marked in the map of Corſica.

He took along with him ſix armed peaſants belonging to Borgo, in whom he apparently

placed the greateſt confidence. It was now nine o'clock in the morning. After marching half a league with his dragoons, diſperſed in ſuch a manner as to occupy a very extenſive front, he diſcerned a ſmall wood at about a thouſand paces diſtant from the bridge over the Guolo. A little in the rear of his left flank, and inclining towards the ſea, was a large farm called *Procoio Giuſtiniano*. As there might be ſome Corſicans concealed in it, he diſpatched a ſubaltern and four men, with orders to return and inform him, if there were any of the enemy near, and if not, to return to the thicket at a gentle trot, taking care to approach the river in ſuch a manner as to be diſcovered; all this was punctually executed.

He then entered the wood with the ſixteen troopers that remained, left twelve behind, with orders to ſhow themſelves every now and then in different directions, in front of the thicket, on purpoſe to make them appear more numerous than they really were, and to light up five or ſix fires at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. After this he ſallied out of the wood with the lieutenant, four dragoons, and the ſix peaſants, and made directly for the bridge. The Corſicans, to the number of thirty or forty, occupied a kind of centry box or chapel

in the centre of it. On the other ſide of the river, in the *pieva de la Caſinca*, is a village, whence there is an approach to the bridge by means of a gentle declivity interſected with trees and hedges. The whole army of Clement Paoli, brother to the general, conſiſting of five or ſix thouſand ſtrong, was poſted there. This army, which appeared to poſſeſs much curioſity, roſe up to view the dragoons.

The Corſicans permitted them to reach the bridge without firing a ſhot; and they afterwards abandoned the chapel. He himſelf placed a dragoon by way of ſentinel at the entrance of the bridge; the lieutenant poſted the other three at two hundred paces diſtance from each other, returned to the thicket, brought four additional ones, and thus in ſucceſſion ſtationed ſixteen troopers, who formed a line of about a mile in length along the bank of the river.

He now diſpatched his lacquey, who was well mounted, at full gallop, with a note for Mr. de Chauvelin; he notified to him the danger of Mr. Duvalés, and the orders iſſued by him, not to divide his troops. His ſervant, as he paſſed along, delivered another note to the commanding officer of the royal legion; he informed him, that he kept the enemy in check with only

twenty

twenty of his dragoons, and he requeſted him to ſend a hundred more with all poſſible diſpatch to ſupport them. At the end of about a couple of hours, he perceived a great commotion amongſt the Corſicans; they had begun to aſcend towards the village, which announced a retreat. He cauſed Mr. Duvalés to be informed of this circumſtance by means of a peaſant, begging him at the ſame time to ſend ſome food for the men and horſes, and to diſpatch a few ſoldiers to take poſt on a riſing ground nearer the Guolo, whence they might be eaſily ſeen, but not to riſk any thing, and to remain conſtantly on his guard.

An hour afterwards, he diſcovered a few men deſcending from the village with a white flag; he cauſed them to lay down their arms on the bridge, and to be brought to him. Theſe proved to be ſix deputies from Caſinca, two of whom were called Caſabianca. He detained them along with him, and learned by their means, that the army miſtaking his little troop for the French vanguard, and imagining they were about to be attacked, had retreated towards Tenda, and that the *pieves* of Caſinca and Campoloro had deputed them to make their ſubmiſſion to general Chauvelin.

He took care not to undeceive them; on the contrary, he deſired the lieutenant to go and receive general Marbeuf's orders relative to the reception of the deputation; in the mean time he beſought them to remain patiently with him, becauſe it was likely that this general, being buſied about the diſpoſition of the troops, might not be able to attend to their requeſt for ſome time, more eſpecially if he thought himſelf obliged to wait for the orders of the commander in chief, who was not to leave Baſtia until noon.

The lieutenant, who had returned to the wood, did not make his appearance again until five o'clock in the afternoon, when he was accompanied by a hundred dragoons, who relieved the eſcort, and conducted the hoſtages to Baſtia. They frequently looked around, during the courſe of their journey, to diſcover the army; but he aſſured them, that on hearing of the retreat of the Corſicans, it had taken the road leading to the mountain.

The moment that theſe unlucky deputies arrived, the heads of the French were turned. "We ought to march inſtantly," exclaimed they, "to receive the ſubmiſſion of the two *pieves*; it is proper that we ſhould profit by the preſent terrour; the other *pieves* will follow the example;

example; and it is unneceſſary to loſe time in waiting for a reinforcement from France, when there is no longer any manner of occaſion for it."

Dumouriez, who already ſuſpected the poſition at Borgo to be too hazardous, conjured them not to think of advancing any further; the deputies, however, preſſed the general to adopt this meaſure. Mr. de Chauvelin accordingly permitted himſelf to be once more miſled, and orders were ſent to lieutenant-colonel Duvalés to garriſon Lucciana and Vignale.

The very next day colonel d'Arcambal was diſpatched at the head of eight hundred men, with whom he was to occupy Veſcovato and la Penta; and Dumouriez, who was blamed for having taken upon him to alter the deſtination of the troops under Duvalés, had the mortification of ſeeing the army diſperſed, and of anticipating all the dangers which would reſult from this meaſure:—in ſhort, of being the innocent cauſe of theſe blunders, in conſequence of his late unfortunate expedition.

Mr. de Marbeuf having diſcovered an averſion to him, he begged the commander in chief to change his diviſion, and to attach him to that under general Grandmaiſon, which he joined at

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the camp of St. Nicholas. He learned, four days afterwards, that the Corſicans having aſſembled eight or nine thouſand men in the Caſinca, had attacked the poſt of la Penta; that, after a vigorous defence, the French had been driven from it with the loſs of more than two hundred men killed or taken priſoners; that they had evacuated the two *pieves*, recroſſed the Guolo, and fallen back to their old camp at Notre dame dell'Orto; that colonel count du Lude, with the infantry of the royal legion and two companies of grenadiers, amounting in all to about five hundred men, had thrown themſelves into Borgo; and that the Corſicans, having croſſed the Guolo, menaced Borgo.

The day after receiving this intelligence, the camp of St. Nicholas was attacked by the whole Corſican army; and general Grandmaiſon, who held out until night, took care to retreat then, and poſted himſelf in the ſtrong village of Oletta, at the extremity of the plain of Nebbio. The Corſicans loſt no time, but inſtantly laid ſiege to Borgo.

On the return of Dumouriez to head quarters, he found that theſe checks had not made any impreſſion, and that they conſidered the

attack on Borgo to be a mere mockery, the Corſicans having neither cannon nor bayonets, while Mr. du Lude poſſeſſed both. Two days afterwards he was employed to conduct a convoy to this village, with a hundred infantry, fifty dragoons, and thirty grenadiers. The Corſicans, who were at Revinco, retired on his approach, and he reached the place of his deſtination after a ſlight ſkirmiſh. He afterwards returned and rendered an account to Mr. de Chauvelin of what he had ſeen. Mr. du Lude, ſuppoſing himſelf too weak to guard the whole place, had reduced his line of defence to the church, and the intrenched ſummit of the village, of which he only occupied a few houſes, with a deſign of keeping up the communication with the plain; but if the Corſicans ſhould diſcover this, and only ſucceed in forcing one of theſe houſes, his men muſt aſſuredly die of thirſt, becauſe he had no other water but what was ſupplied by means of a fountain at the foot of the mountain, near Revinco. Mr. de Chauvelin, who paid but little attention to theſe obſervations, and other hints ſuggeſted by Dumouriez, diſpatched him to Calvi. It unfortunately happened, that he was the only officer on the ſtaff who had ever been at Borgo, and

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his abſence on this occaſion was attended with the moſt inauſpicious circumſtances.

In the memorial preſented by him in 1763 to the duke de Choiſeul, he had principally inſiſted on two points:

1. That a negotiation ſhould be opened with thoſe chiefs who belonged to the faction adverſe to Paoli; that a party ſhould even be bought over with a deſign to make a diverſion in favour of the French, to ſpare the effuſion of their blood, and to procure a more ſpeedy termination to the conteſt.

2. That a ſtrong garriſon only ſhould be left at Ajaccio, there being but little danger in that quarter; that two or three thouſand men ſhould be aſſembled at Calvi to take Balagne in the rear, ſupport the column that was to attack Nebbio by the way of Petralba, conquer the *pieves* of Niolo and Roſtino, which were ſtrongly attached to Paoli, and then to march with the centre column againſt Corte.

Balagne is a ſmall province, more fertile, open, poliſhed, and better peopled than the reſt of Corſica. The family of the Fabiani, ſettled at Santa Reparata, which is the moſt conſiderable town, was very powerful, and headed the faction that was inimical to Paoli. Below Santa

Reparata

Reparata is the port of Iſola Roſſa, frequented by the troubleſome *flotilla* belonging to Paoli. That port ſtill held out againſt the French.

The marquis de Chauvelin had adopted this plan, which was ſupported by the authority of marſhal de Maillebois, who, in 1739, had acted on the ſame principles, and proved ſucceſsful. In the ſketch carried by Delille with the intention to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the duke de Choiſeul, it had been arranged ſo as that four battalions and three hundred mules ſhould be ſent to Calvi. In conformity to this idea, the marquis de Chauvelin diſpatched Dumouriez to Calvi at the latter end of December, with a deſign that he ſhould ſuperintend the march of this column. He gave him a hundred thouſand *livres*, with which he was to levy and pay ſuch companies of Corſicans as he might be able to raiſe in Calvi and the Balagne, and alſo to fit out a felucca carrying three ſix pounders and forty men, partly Genoeſe and partly Corſicans, and two chebecks, provided with ſwivels, and navigated with fifteen or twenty men each; for, although we had a ſquadron of two ſail of the line, two frigates, ſix brigantines, and ſeveral feluccas, there was but too little harmony between the commanders by ſea and land,

land, to expect that any part of this armament would be allowed to act independently of the commodore.

He at the same time ordered the count de Narbonne-Fritzlar to remove from Ajaccio to Calvi to command this column, and he was desired to carry along with him two battalions and all the grenadiers and chasseurs. This count de Narbonne had distinguished himself during the war of 1757, at which time he acquired the glorious sirname of *Fritzlar*. After a few days stay at Calvi, he returned to Bastia to confer with Mr. de Chauvelin.

While Dumouriez was thus busied in making preparations for the commencement of the campaign in the Balagne, and while he waited for the arrival of Mr. de Narbonne and the troops from France, the Corsicans had once more laid siege to Borgo; four hundred men belonging to the *pieve* of Arco, commanded by a knight of St. Louis, called Grimaldi, who was a very good officer, and had been formerly in the service of France, got possession of a house in the midst of the village, where du Lude had posted no more than a sub-lieutenant and twenty men, although this was the sole means of keeping up a communication with the water and the plain;

plain; the enemy inſtantly intrenched themſelves there, and three thouſand Corſicans at the ſame time threw themſelves into the neighbouring houſes.

Du Lude was now ready to ſurrender for want of water; this was diſcovered by means of his ſignals, for every other mode of correſponding with him was cut off, ſo that Mr. de Chauvelin found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of riſking the ſafety of the whole army, on purpoſe to relieve the garriſon of Borgo.

This, however, being the caſe, he ordered general Grandmaiſon to march along the heights by the way of Ortale, to attack the enemy on the ſide of the mountain: this diviſion conſiſted of about a thouſand men. He himſelf headed the other column, amounting to no more than nine hundred; this took the road leading acroſs the plain, and was divided into two bodies. Mr. de Marbeuf was charged to turn the left flank of the village, and Mr. de Narbonne to attack the centre, while du Lude prepared to ſally forth with all his garriſon.

The diviſion under Grandmaiſon did not arrive at the place of deſtination; but the two attacks on the ſide of the plain were made with the utmoſt impetuoſity. The two columns

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then penetrated as far as the centre of the village, where they were aſſailed on all ſides by inviſible enemies, who fired at them with equal ſafety and preciſion. Du Lude cauſed a company of grenadiers belonging to the regiment of Languedoc to ſally forth, of which one man only returned. The French then retired, leaving three hundred of their dead behind them. Mr. de Marbeuf was wounded on this occaſion by a muſket-ball. The Corſicans did not loſe a ſingle man; and, in addition to that, du Lude ſurrendered the very next day with all the infantry, the colours of the royal legion, and four pieces of cannon.

Mr. de Chauvelin retired in the utmoſt conſternation to Baſtia, whence he immediately wrote to Toulon to change the deſtination of the eight battalions, which were ſcarcely ſufficient to garriſon the towns, and keep up the communication with Cape-Corſe. In ſhort, things were now exactly in the ſame ſituation as at the commencement of the campaign, ſave that the Corſicans had ſix or ſeven hundred priſoners in their poſſeſſion, taken at the Penta and in Borgo, to which muſt be added the loſs of four or five hundred killed; and that the credit of Paoli, as well as the courage of

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the enemy, was greatly augmented by their ſucceſs.

Such were the conſequences reſulting from the attack of the 5th of September, which Dumouriez had but too truly predicted, although he never imagined that they could have been ſo fatal. He now began to think, that the plan of attacking the Balagne would be abandoned; and being greatly attached to Mr. de Chauvelin, he inſtantly embarked and ſailed for Baſtia, where he found him ſick and in bed. He diſcovered the joy that was but too viſibly depicted on the countenances of the numerous partiſans of Mr. de Marbeuf, who was extolled by them to the ſkies, and whoſe wound proved but very ſlight.

Perceiving Mr. de Chauvelin to be entirely diſcouraged, he exhorted him to quit his bed, leſt he ſhould experience the fate of Mr. de Boiſſieux, and ſet off inſtantly for court, that he might not be ſubjected to the loſs of a battle there, that would be ſtill more dangerous than that of Borgo. Delille, who had arrived a few days before, gave him the ſame advice. He accordingly departed, aſſuring Dumouriez at the ſame time of his friendſhip, and charging him above all things to continue to negotiate with and to ſubſidize the Corſicans, that he might

poſſeſs theſe additional means of ſucceſs upon his return, which he reckoned on as certain.

All the young men belonging to the court ſet off at the ſame time on purpoſe to tear his character to pieces; his ſole errour conſiſted in his complaiſance toward them, and in his attention to their projects. They, however, ſucceeded in depriving him of his command; and had it not been for the friendſhip of the king, his diſgrace would have been attended with more diſaſtrous circumſtances.

Immediately after his departure, Mr. de Marbeuf, who was the temporary commander in chief, and who hoped to be ſoon appointed his ſucceſſor, invented an infernal mode of rendering his faults ſtill more conſpicuous. He aſſembled a council of war, before which he detailed all the ſufferings of the army, the neceſſity of quiet and ſecure winter quarters, the dangers likely to reſult from an enemy emboldened by ſucceſs, and admirably fitted for the attack of poſts, and the danger of the inhabitants betraying their gueſts. He at the ſame time intimated the propriety of engaging Paoli to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, which he conſidered as highly advantageous, conſidering the melancholy ſtate to which the troops were reduced by the

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ill ſucceſs of the campaign. The opinions of nearly all the members was in complete union with that of the general. Mr. de Narbonne alone remained in a ſtate of ſilence indicative of diſapprobation. Dumouriez at laſt roſe, and ſpoke as follows againſt a ſuſpenſion of arms, which he treated as an act of puſillanimity.

" Is it at the very moment when the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us, and when our loſſes are about to be made good by a reinforcement of eight entire battalions replete with ardour, that we ought baſely to ſolicit a ſuſpenſion of arms? Are not theſe the ſelf-ſame peaſants whom but a month ſince we regarded with ſuch ſcorn, and who have conſtantly fled before us? Have our diſaſters, for which we are indebted only to ourſelves, procured generals, cannoneers, or a knowledge of tactics, to Paoli? If we had experienced a ſignal ſucceſs, it might then indeed have been worthy the generoſity of a great nation to have granted an armiſtice to the Corſicans, ſtill deluded by an ambitious chief, in order to ſpare the effuſion of blood, and to afford an opportunity of reflecting on their ſituation; but it is not at preſent permitted us to ſuſpend the deliverance of our ſtandards, our cannon, and our companions, all of

which are in the hands of Paoli. Beſides, what right have we to deliberate for a moment on ſo important a reſolution? The generals now here are only temporary leaders. The commander in chief is at Paris; on his departure he left orders behind him, and we do not poſſeſs the right of making any alterations, as the ſtate of affairs has not ſince changed."

Mr. de Narbonne ſupported this opinion with very ſtrong military reaſons. The council of war became tumultuous, and the propoſition of Marbeuf was carried by a very large majority. On this Mr. de Narbonne and Dumouriez delivered in a proteſt in writing, and then ſet out for Calvi. Previouſly to his embarkation, that he might not have any thing to reproach himſelf with, Dumouriez deemed it his duty to make a laſt effort to induce general de Marbeuf to change his opinion; he accordingly waited upon him and told him, that the miniſter would aſſuredly diſapprove of the ſuſpenſion, as an acknowledgment of our defeats and our timidity; he added, he was induced by an additional motive to beſeech him not to purſue ſuch a line of conduct; this was the negotiation already commenced with the enemies of Paoli, who, in conſequence of the armiſtice, would be expoſed

to

to the vengeance of that chief, a circumſtance likely to be conſidered by them as an inſtance of perfidy.

The general heard him with great coolneſs, and then replied as follows: "I know not what prevents me from cauſing you to be arreſted and ſent to France; I declare, however, that I will write to the duke de Choiſeul againſt you."

"And I will write alſo againſt the ſuſpenſion of arms." This took place four days afterwards. Marbeuf was entirely under the influence of a madame Vareze, who could not be very young, as ſhe had been miſtreſs to marſhal Contades in 1739, and afterwards to general Paoli.

On his arrival at Calvi, Dumouriez tranſmitted an account of all that had paſſed to the duke de Choiſeul and Mr. de Chauvelin. He afterwards notified to Paoli, that as an officer of the French army, he would pay all due ſubmiſſion to the ſuſpenſion of arms; but as the Corſicans were not comprehended in it, in conſequence of the engagements entered into with them, he would continue the war at their head. Mr. de Narbonne approved of his conduct.

Accordingly, in the month of January 1769, he endeavoured to ſurpriſe the port of Iſola Roſſa, by means of a correſpondence between him and ſome of the inhabitants. A tower was to be delivered up to him, ſituated on a little detached iſle that formed the entrance into the harbour, and conferred its name on it. "There were ſix cannon mounted on the walls, ſix more at the foot of the intrenchments, and forty-four on the batteries in the inſide of the road." A correſpondence was kept up by both parties; for the captain, who was to have ſurrendered this poſt, betrayed his relations, and communicated the whole ſcheme to Paoli. Four thouſand men in conſequence of this waited in ſilence, on purpoſe to murder thoſe who ſhould land on the faith of the plot.

Dumouriez embarked on the 12th of January, favoured by a ſerene ſky. In addition to his felucca, he had one hundred and fifty Corſicans on board five fiſhing veſſels, commanded by a brave man called Capiaſſi, who conducted the expedition, and was uncle to the traitor, whoſe name was Cappochia. The enemy permitted them to land, and then, by means of a ſhower of grape-ſhot and muſketry, killed about one half:

half: Dumouriez with ſome difficulty ſaved the remainder. Having reached his felucca by means of a ſkiff, he anchored her in the midſt of the road, and commenced ſuch a ſevere fire againſt the batteries with his ſix pounders, that the Corſicans, who are but bad cannoneers, at length abandoned them. If he had been ſupported by three or four hundred men, he would have taken the place. During the cannonade his ſmall craft took refuge in Calvi. By way of revenge, he took the tower of Giralette, ſituated on the weſt end of the iſland, two days afterwards.

The enterpriſe was equally bold and important. He had informed the duke de Choiſeul of his intentions, and it was thus that he delivered his ſentiments on that occaſion: "Out of one hundred attempts ſimilar to that which I am now about to engage in, ninety-five may fail, and yet a man ought not to be diſcouraged. I am reſolved to attack Iſola Roſſa, which is defended by fifty pieces of cannon and a great number of troops, with one hundred and fifty men embarked on board ſome fiſhing barks. If Cappochia does not prove untrue, I ſhall not have occaſion to fire a ſingle muſket, and once in poſſeſſion of this rock, all Corſica will not be able

to diſlodge me. Should I ſucceed, you will not be under the neceſſity of fitting out a ſquadron during the preſent campaign; this will produce a ſaving of at leaſt ſix millions of *livres*. If, on the other hand, Cappochia betray us, all the evil will fall upon the Corſicans, for in this little armament, which will not put you to a farthing of extraordinary expence, there is not a ſingle Frenchman. In the latter caſe, which indeed ſhould be expected, this ought to be conſidered as a *frolic* on the part of the Corſicans, and they need not be aſhamed at having failed in an attack which baffled all the efforts of the French ſquadron, and the regiment of Royal-Rouſſillon in the month of October laſt. If I do not ſucceed, you will receive whole volumes of letters againſt me. Do not decide according to the ſucceſs, but according to the plan, and the importance of the enterpriſe."

In fact Mr. de Marbeuf wrote againſt, and repreſented him as a dangerous madman. All the officers, Mr. de Narbonne excepted, alſo declaimed againſt ſuch a raſh attempt. The duke de Choiſeul permitted his mind to be warped upon this occaſion, although Mr. de Narbonne wrote to him for the expreſs purpoſe of removing any diſagreeable impreſſions.

In

In fifteen days afterwards he made a promotion in favour of the four aſſiſtant quarter-maſters general; three of them were elevated to the rank of colonel, and Dumouriez received a commiſſion as lieutenant-colonel; this he inſtantly returned, obſerving to the miniſter, that ſuch a ſtep, which would have conferred honour upon him on any other occaſion, became a puniſhment at preſent; he at the ſame time begged him to nominate ſome perſon to the ſituation he then filled, as he ought no longer to hold it, if he had ſhown himſelf undeſerving. He added, that he only demanded permiſſion to ſerve during the preſent war as a volunteer, and that at the concluſion of it, he ſhould either contrive to undeceive him, or ſeek his fortune elſewhere.

The duke would neither give him ſatisfaction on this point, nor accept of his reſignation; in the mean time, Mr. de Chauvelin was charged to negotiate with him, but he would not conſent to accept of the rank of lieutenant-colonel, or to receive a gratification, at firſt of three thouſand, and afterwards of ſix thouſand *livres*, and he continued to officiate in his employment with much reluctance.

The triumph of Mr. de Marbeuf was however far from being complete. The Corſicans, notwith-

notwithſtanding the armiſtice, had entered into a well concerted conſpiracy. All the quarters occupied by the French were to be aſſaulted at one and the ſame time, and ſix battalions that wintered in Oletta were to be murdered by their hoſts. This maſſacre did not take place, but the general attack was carried into execution. A battalion of the regiment of la Mark was ſurpriſed and cut off in the Patrimonio; repriſals enſued, and we were once more in a ſtate of war, notwithſtanding the charming expedient invented by Mr. de Marbeuf.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Corſican War—Campaign of 1769.

THE campaign of 1768 had been ſo lightly undertaken, ſo imprudently conducted, and ſo ſhamefully terminated, that the duke de Choiſeul foreſaw, that the glory of France, and his own ſafety, would be endangered, if he did not furniſh ſufficient means for enſuring the conqueſt of Corſica during the enſuing ſpring. The twenty-two battalions which compoſed at preſent the whole army, he therefore reinforced with twenty battalions more, two additional legions, and twelve hundred mules. The command of this body of troops, which exceeded all the powers of defence that could be oppoſed on the part of the Corſicans, was conferred on lieutenant-general the count de Vaux.

The moment that the intelligence of this nomination arrived in Corſica, every body was alarmed.

alarmed. Dumouriez was very much vexed, that theſe forces were not put under the direction of Mr. de Chauvelin, who might have been thus enabled to have repaired his diſgrace, which was chiefly to be attributed to the imprudence of the miniſter, who had not furniſhed him with a ſufficient number of troops. Mr. de Marbeuf alſo beheld himſelf fruſtrated in regard to that very object, to which his whole ambition had aſpired during four years. The Corſicans, on the other hand, at once knew and dreaded the talents of Mr. de Vaux.

The army being deſtitute of diſcipline, behaved but indifferently; the new general poſſeſſed the reputation of the moſt terrible auſterity, and thoſe who had ſerved under him, during the time he commanded at Thionville, or in the army, or in Gottingen, deſcribed him as a harſh and ſevere man; he really appeared to be ſo, but a taciturn and rigid exterior enveloped a mind that was full of ſenſibility, juſt, and even affectionate.

He had ſerved in 1739, during the war then in Corſica, as major in the regiment of Auvergne, and happened to have his right hand diſabled by a muſket ſhot from a peaſant of Sartenne. The firſt queſtion aſked by him in 1769, was, Whether

ther this man was ſtill living? The unfortunate wretch concealed himſelf, but Mr. de Vaux ſucceeded in diſcovering the place of his retreat, and ordered him to be brought before him; every body imagined that he would be hanged. He raiſed this man, more dead than alive, from the earth, where he had proſtrated himſelf at his feet, admitted him to his table, enquired if he had any children, preſented him with money, and charged himſelf with the maintenance of his family. Twenty ſimilar anecdotes, during the preſent war, had forced his very enemies to admire him. He poſſeſſed much knowledge, ſpoke but little, and with difficulty, but in private he was extremely amiable. In other reſpects, his virtues and his habits were far too antiquated to be rightly appreciated by the frivolous characters who ſurrounded him, and whom he eſteemed but little.

Such was the commander who arrived in the ſpring. All the general and ſtaff officers had orders to meet him on his diſembarkation at St. Fiorenzo. After ſurveying them with an auſtere air, he addreſſed them as follows:

"The king, gentlemen, has charged me to inform you, that he is exceedingly diſcontented with his army. Several of the officers entruſted with

with poſts have been baſe enough to ſign capitulations. I henceforth prohibit any officer ſerving with a detachment from the uſe of pen and ink. The king in particular diſapproves of the ſuſpenſion of arms; this is a ſtain which you have imprinted upon our colours, and I hope you will ſucceed in waſhing it out. His majeſty is very angry with all the officers who compoſed the council of war, the two only excepted who had courage ſufficient to proteſt againſt its proceedings. You afterwards permitted yourſelves to be lulled into ſecurity on the faith of this treaty, and you were in danger of being all murdered. How is it poſſible, after having ſpent four years among the Corſicans, not to know them well enough to be certain that you could not confide in them? Dumouriez attempted an enterprize truly military; he failed; this is the fortune of war, and I am deſired to teſtify the king's ſatisfaction to him."

At the concluſion of this harangue, Mr. de Marbeuf was profuſe of his careſſes to Dumouriez, and he always afterwards evinced a great regard towards him.

At the expiration of a couple of days, Mr. de Vaux took him aſide, and ſaid: "I have peruſed

uſed your plan of operations by the Balagne; it was a good one, with a feeble army, but as I have more than a ſufficient number of troops, I ſhall ſend Mr. de Narbonne, at the head of twelve battalions, to make an attack on the ſide of Ajaccio; the remaining twenty will be ſufficient to force the paſſes of Bogognaro and Vico. You may, perhaps, deſire to ſerve along with him, but I ſhall keep you near my own perſon. I know that you refuſed the *brevet* rank of lieutenant-colonel, and you were in the right, conſidering circumſtances; but Mr. de Choiſeul is ſorry that you ſhould have rejected the gratification; he ſays that you are too proud."

—"If you approve the refuſal of the rank, general, you ought ſtill more to approve the refuſal of the money; if I were rich, I ſhould perhaps have accepted it, but I am poor, and I cannot."

"It is very well," replied Mr. de Vaux, with a ſmile, "and he inſtantly wrote and demanded the rank of colonel for Dumouriez, which arrived in the courſe of ſix weeks."

This general was very obſtinate, and he could not bear either to be queſtioned, or contradicted. He was perfectly well acquainted with hiſtory and geography, and a man could not confer greater

pleaſure

pleaſure on him than to begin a converſation on thoſe ſubjects. It even became a foible, and Dumouriez frequently took advantage of it, on purpoſe to make him talk: he was then ſententious, and ſometimes even ſublime. This frequently produced very entertaining ſcenes.

Mr. de Vaux had brought along with him as a volunteer, his intimate friend Bourcet, an old lieutenant-general of engineers, who had written a very inſtructive work on the ſyſtem of war beſt adapted to hilly countries.

The army was divided into two columns of twelve battalions each, which marched at the ſame time, the one by the camp of St. Nicholas, the other by St. Antonio. Mr. de Narbonne, with twelve other battalions, commenced his operations on the ſide of Ajaccio by the way of Vico. Mr. de Marbeuf, at the head of eight more, turned off through the plain of Mariana, in order to aſcend along the Tavignano. Theſe four bodies of troops menaced Corte.

The baron de Viomeſnil, with the legion of Lorraine, and ſome detachments, was to follow the road along the ſea-ſhore, through the plain of Aleria, as far as Porto-Vecchio. The French garriſon of Bonifaccio, and ſeveral detachments which were to be landed in the gulf

of Valinco, received orders at the ſame time to march for Sartenne. This vaſt plan embraced the whole of Corſica, and it was infallible, with the ſtrength which we now poſſeſſed. It inſpired perhaps an idea of too much ſecurity, and produced a certain degree of negligence in regard to ſome details, which rendered the defence of the iſland far more brilliant than it would have otherwiſe been.

The two central columns were cloſe to one another, and the defiles ſometimes forced them to form but one body. The advanced guards and the grenadiers fired frequently, but the columns never ſaw the enemy, not even during the ſkirmiſh at Ponto-Nuovo.

There is a central point, after having croſſed the bridge over the Guolo, by the road leading to Lento, which commands the entrance into the high plain of Corſica; this plain may be conſidered as the *key* to the whole country. It is a very large flat, ſituated on the top of a mountain, with only one grove, conſiſting of cheſnut trees; in the midſt of it is an antient Mooriſh moſque, which is at preſent called St. Peter's chapel. The marſhal de Termes had formerly ſubjected all Corſica, by poſt-

ing himſelf here, becauſe it overlooks the four adjoining vallies.

The Corſicans, after having vigorouſly defended the bridge of Guolo, and the village of Valle, which is at an equal diſtance between the river and the mountain, had, to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand men, retreated to this formidable ſtation.

It was but nine o'clock in the morning, and the volunteers of Soubiſe, who formed part of the advanced guard of the right hand column, having already paſſed the brow of the mountain, could have penetrated into the valley of Merofaglia, where is an abbey, in which Paoli was then repoſing himſelf. Dumouriez was with the advanced guard of the left column, with eight hundred volunteers of the army, commanded by the count de Viomeſnil, younger brother to the officer who was on his march towards Porto-Vecchio. They had paſſed through the village, and were purſuing and firing at the Corſican rearguard. He had left his horſes behind him at the village of Valle, becauſe it was impoſſible to aſcend the ſteep in any other manner than on foot; perceiving on his reaching the ſummit, that the Corſicans were drawn up in order of battle in the wood and around the

the chapel, he diſpatched a note to Mr. de Vaux, in which he informed him, that if he would but command the battalions of grenadiers to advance to the ſupport of the volunteers, and make the regiment of Soubiſe take Meroſaglia in flank, he might be maſter of all Corſica in the ſpace of two hours, on account of the importance of the poſition of St. Peter's chapel, and that in the mean time he would order the attack to commence. This billet was carried by an officer.

While waiting for an anſwer, it was abſolutely neceſſary to come to ſome determination; to remain on the height without advancing, was to expoſe the troops to a ſuperior fire; to deſcend, would be ſubjecting them to a purſuit. Viomeſnil inſtantly made the proper diſpoſitions; he formed his two columns in order of battle, on two of the heights, and prohibited them from firing a ſingle muſket ſhot; a charge was beaten, and they came up almoſt at full ſpeed with the Corſicans, who inſtantly fell back, and retreated into the grove of cheſnut trees, at the other extremity of the plain. A thouſand men did not remain behind, all the reſt having fled into the vallies. He then wrote another note to the general, and intimated to him that he was in

poſſeſſion of St. Peter's chapel, with the loſs of only three privates. This billet was entruſted to a ſecond officer.

All the young men belonging to the court, on hearing the ſkirmiſh, had immediately come up. In the mean time an *aide-de-camp* belonging to the general arrived, with orders to fall back. During this interval, Mr. de Vaux received the ſecond note, and imagining that his firſt order muſt have been delivered, he conſidered this as an act of diſobedience. Accordingly another *aide-de-camp* ſoon after made his appearance, with orders to Dumouriez to repair inſtantly to Valle, along with all ſuch as did not belong to the *corps* of volunteers. Written inſtructions were at the ſame time preſented to Viomeſnil, enjoining him to quit the mountain, and to deſcend towards Valle.

Dumouriez inſtantly conceived that there muſt be a miſtake ſomewhere, but he made haſte to obey, hoping to be time enough to procure the orders tranſmitted to Viomeſnil to be countermanded, and he adviſed that officer to execute them ſlowly. He then ran down the mountain as faſt as he was able, and on his arrival at the entrance of the village, fell in with the major-general, who put him under arreſt,

arreſt, and ſent him to his quarters, giving him a guide at the ſame time to conduct him thither.

He was dying with hunger and fatigue, and his legs were ſwelled, bloody, and covered with wounds. On paſſing by the lodgings occupied by general Bourcet, he entered, aſked for ſomething to eat, and informed himſelf of the reaſons why he, who was at his poſt, had been put under arreſt along with the *aides-de-camp*. General Bourcet explained the whole to him. He then in his turn obſerved, that he had not received the firſt orders till he had gotten poſſeſſion of St. Peter's Chapel, and diſpatched the ſecond officer. He made him ſenſible by means of the map, of the importance of the poſt he had ſeized on, and the imprudence of abandoning it; he predicted that the Corſicans would purſue the volunteers during their retreat, who would be thus expoſed to a conſiderable loſs, and that they would afterwards deſcend in crowds, and occupy the woods that ſurrounded and commanded the camp; he at the ſame time expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that at nine o'clock in the morning, and after a march of only two leagues, they ſhould have encamped in a bottom ſurrounded by thick woods, and overlooked

by ſo dangerous a height, more eſpecially when they knew it to be in the poſſeſſion of the Corſicans.

General Bourcet, being ſtruck with the juſtice of theſe obſervations, inſtantly ran to communicate them to Mr. de Vaux. As to Dumouriez, who had now ſatisfied his hunger, he retired to his lodgings, threw himſelf upon a truſs of ſtraw, and fell aſleep. In a ſhort time afterwards, an *aide-de-camp* arrived, and conducted him to the general. Mr. de Vaux, who had a map before him, deſired him in a pretty ſevere tone of voice, to explain why he had puſhed the volunteers ſo far without orders? He inſtantly complied, by obſerving, that he expected to be followed by the column, as he was entirely ignorant that the army was to encamp at Valle. On this the commander in chief, aſſuming a ſerene air, ſaid: "I am ſorry for having put you under arreſt. Thoſe *gentry* belonging to the court were the cauſe of it, by being eager to be killed before their time. Bourcet has proved to me, that you are perfectly in the right, and that the poſt in queſtion is eſſentially neceſſary. You are moſt horribly fatigued. Do you feel yourſelf able to return with a battalion of grenadiers, and retake it?

Here

Here is Laſobole ready to accompany you." Laſobole was a brave lieutenant-colonel, who had been juſt ordered out with his detachment.

He replied, that although exceedingly tired, he could not refuſe any thing that his general might pleaſe to command; but five hours had been already loſt, and it was now too late to recommence an attack; that Viomeſnil, in conſequence of his orders, was retreating, and muſt by this time be half way back again; that it would be proper for Laſobole to march to a poſition which he would point out to him, where he might fall in with Viomeſnil, and remain all night, on purpoſe to protect the camp, which, notwithſtanding this precaution, would be diſturbed before morning; that if he abſolutely required it, he would accompany Laſobole, but the officer who had brought the ſeſecond *billet* being ſtill there, he might ſerve as a guide, and that in this caſe, he would return, throw off his ſpatterdaſhes, and dreſs his wounds. He was accordingly permitted to retire. Laſobole then ſet out; Viomeſnil loſt ſixty or eighty men in the courſe of his retreat; the Corſicans glided into the woods, and haraſſed the camp; the drums beat to arms, and the

troops paſſed the whole night in the open air. Next day they were eaſily driven away.

When he waited on Mr. de Vaux, in the morning, to receive his orders, that general, after taking him into his cloſet, where Mr. de Bourcet was ſitting, ſpoke as follows: "You may eaſily imagine that I have mentioned to the miniſter the circumſtance of your being put under arreſt; behold the remarks I have added on this ſubject." Theſe contained an avowal that he himſelf was in the wrong, and alſo an eulogium on the talents and knowledge of Dumouriez. It was at this epoch that he was forced to accept of the gratification, which he had hitherto conſtantly refuſed.

The remainder of the campaign conſiſted of a mere *march*, the affair at Ponte-Nuovo excepted, where the Corſicans ſurpriſed the volunteers of the army, routed three battalions of grenadiers who flew to ſupport them, and were at length driven away, merely in conſequence of the decided ſuperiority on our part, both of numbers and of arms. They were only fifteen hundred in all, and more than a third of theſe periſhed on this occaſion; many of them were drowned. This was a very uncommon inſtance of temerity on their part.

Dumouriez

Dumouriez procured the capitulation of the caſtle of Corte, where ſeventeen drunken men had ſhut themſelves up, threatening to ſet the place on fire. Mr. de Vaux being deſirous of ſaving the papers and the moveables, he entered the caſtle on the very tickliſh promiſe of theſe rogues, gave them ten *louis* a-piece, and ſent them about their buſineſs. Thus the whole was preſerved at the expence of one hundred and ſeventy *louis d'ors*. The general, by way of recompence, preſented him with near one hundred volumes of Paoli's library, which was divided among five or ſix different perſons. It was a well choſen collection. There was not a ſingle book that did not bear evidence of its having belonged to a man of genius, and a great politician.

Paoli has rendered his name illuſtrious in conſequence of the vigour with which he ſupported the cauſe of public liberty among the Corſicans; in truth, it was a little at the expence of their individual freedom. The French, at the commencement of the revolution, did him juſtice; their exceſſes have ſince alienated him, and he is at this very moment *out of the protection of the law*. This term but ill expreſſes the proſcription of thoſe who have only rebelled againſt anarchy,

anarchy, and that is the caſe with Paoli and many others. Colonel Guibert, and Chardon, *intendant* of the army, had each a portion of this library.

Guibert has acted a ſhort but too brilliant a part in France, to be overlooked in theſe memoirs. His father, who died a lieutenant-general, and governor of the invalids, and the father of Dumouriez, lived in great intimacy together. The career of the two ſons was ſimilar; colonels, brigadiers, and major-generals at the ſame time, they always lived together on good terms, and their friendſhip was never once croſſed by jealouſy. Guibert appeared oftener on the ſtage, Dumouriez has acted a greater number of parts; the one always reſided at Paris, opulent, and courted by all; the other conſtantly in the country, ſolitary, and expoſed to misfortunes. The enjoyments of Guibert were more ſplendid; thoſe of Dumouriez more ſolid. The latter was accuſtomed to ſay frequently to his friend: "We are the two rats in the fable; you are the city, and I am the country rat."

Guibert, although ſtill very young, during the Corſican war DIRECTED Mr. de Vaux, and permitted it to be but too much perceived. Dumouriez executed the orders of his general,

neral, and never abuſed his confidence. Guibert aſpired to the honours of the academy; Dumouriez, on the other hand, has never conſidered the art of writing and of ſpeaking, but as the mere vehicle of ideas, and this has always prevented him from running after literary glory. Guibert has compoſed a treatiſe on war, the preface to which is an unſeaſonable piece of ſublimity, that might have been prefixed to any other work whatever. His tactics have been ſeverely criticiſed; the firſt part is negligent, the ſecond admirable, but it is not eaſy for every military man to comprehend it.

Guibert was expoſed to all the whims, all the enjoyments, all the pains, and all the diſquiets, of an exquiſite ſenſibility. A good friend, a good huſband, a good father, beloved in his own houſe, and by all thoſe who were intimately acquainted with him, he nevertheleſs fell a victim to his own foppery. The ſon of a reſpectable father, yet at the moſt but a private gentleman, he wiſhed to figure away in the ſame ſtyle as thoſe belonging to the court; it was therefore neceſſary to purſue an equally brilliant, although a different line of conduct.

He procured himſelf many enemies in conſequence of the military regulations drawn up by him,

him, because he wished to change every thing, and he prepared the way for the revolution, by disgusting the army. In short, he died of mere chagrin, in the very flower of his age, being killed through sheer self love at the very commencement of the present troubles. It might be truly said, that his death was the sole happiness ever experienced by him during the whole course of his life.

After the capture of Corte, all resistance was at an end. Dumouriez, two months before that event, had received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his father, but it was not until they were encamped at Bogognano, where he learned that Paoli had embarked at Porto-Vecchio, in order to retire to England, that he thought proper to take advantage of the leave of absence granted him by his general, and return to France to arrange his family concerns with his sister. The war was now at an end, and all Corsica had submitted, he therefore took his departure from Bastia at the latter end of August, after having spent precisely one year there, during which he had made two very fatiguing and very instructive campaigns.

Paoli, in the course of this war, displayed great genius, and a noble consistency; had he been

endowed with military talents, had he known how to have inſtructed his countrymen in that ſpecies of hoſtility beſt ſuited to their natural bent, he would have deſtroyed our little army in 1768, and done us much more harm than we experienced in 1769.

The Corſicans alſo exhibited a very laudable courage. It is aſtoniſhing that this handful of iſlanders, deſtitute of artillery, fortifications, magazines, and money, ſhould have kept France at bay during two campaigns, although ſhe had no other enemies to cope with. But liberty doubles the value and the ſtrength of man. If the Corſicans had not been diſunited among themſelves, if their leader had poſſeſſed their entire confidence, as he ſo juſtly merited, if he had ſelected two or three military men acquainted with the art of war, on purpoſe to have acted under him, and to have formed a well concerted ſyſtem of defence; it is doubtful whether they would have ever been conquered. The maritime towns might indeed have been taken, and all communication between them and the reſt of the univerſe cut off; but then retiring to their inacceſſible mountains, they could have ſet the gold and arms of France at defiance, and ſupported their independence until a

war

war among the great powers had opened a door to foreign aſſiſtance.

This wandering people could never have been deprived of their goats, their cheſnuts, and their ſtreams: theſe ſimple aliments are ſufficient for them.

A rude kind of money, with a Moor's head ſtamped upon it, formed all their riches. Paoli made two hundred and forty ſols out of a French crown, and a ſum amounting to about three thouſand *livres* of this baſe metal, ſerved for all the purpoſes of exchange. They neither wanted arms nor ammunition, and they themſelves ſpun their own clothes, which conſiſted of a coarſe brown ſtuff, out of the hair or the wool of their flocks.

The Corſicans poſſeſs courage, talents, and that reſignation which elevates the mind of man. But there is a national vice, which will always oppoſe itſelf to their happineſs: this is hatred and the love of revenge. The vice in queſtion has characteriſed them time immemorial; and Seneca reproached them with it nearly eighteen hundred years ſince in a well known diſtich.

"Prima eſt ulciſci lex."

This is in fact their firſt law, or, more properly ſpeaking,

ſpeaking, no law, either divine or human, can prevent a Corſican from thirſting after vengeance.

At this very moment, in 1794, Corſica no longer appertains to any ſtate; the inhabitants may now become truly free: let them but ſubdue this horrid paſſion, and beware of delivering themſelves over to a foreign yoke, and they will be happy.

The Corſicans have not any natural connection with, nor reſemblance to the other European nations, they will therefore be always unquiet ſubjects, and impatient under the yoke of another people. They are attached to an ariſtocratical form of government, like all the primitive tribes, and the free ſavages of America. They ſtand in need of a chief to govern them, and of a very ſimple conſtitution. They are religious, hoſpitable, generous, proud, and they poſſeſs all the ſeeds of the great virtues. They deſerve to be happy, and they will actually become ſo, if they but take advantage of circumſtances. It is not the extent of territory, but of virtue, that conſtitutes the ſtrength of republics. They occupy a central point in the Mediterranean, ſo important indeed, that all the maritime powers are envious of it, and watch each other, leſt

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any one of them ſhould poſſeſs it; in this conſiſts their ſecurity.

General Paoli is alone capable of carrying this glorious plan into execution. The experience acquired during the war againſt the French, twenty years of meditation in England, his preſent engagements, and his own perſonal ſafety, will ſpur him on to this. There is only one circumſtance that occaſions regret to all thoſe who deem him capable of ſo noble an enterpriſe, and that is his age.

The Corſicans have reaped all the honour of the campaign of 1768. We have already ſeen how Mr. de Chauvelin was induced by French preſumption to divide his little army, which thus became every where feeble. The enemy profited by this circumſtance, with equal rapidity and diſcernment, but they might have ſtruck a ſtill deadlier blow, which they however neglected. Inſtead of marching againſt the French ſtandard at Penta and Veſcovato, had they made a falſe attack only on each of theſe two points, and fallen ſuddenly on Borgo, Lucciana, and Vignale, which were only garriſoned by two hundred and fifty very careleſs troops, the camp Dell'orto, which was much weakened, being at two leagues and a half, and the *corps* ſtationed

in

in the Caſinca, at three leagues diſtance, they could have certainly carried theſe different poſts without any difficulty; the eight hundred men under d'Arcambal in the Caſinca, being thus completely ſurrounded, muſt have been either deſtroyed or taken priſoners. Mr. de Chauvelin would not then have had more than a ſufficient number of troops to garriſon the towns, he would have been even forced to have abandoned the communication by the Patrimonio, and Paoli might have been enabled to have once more gotten poſſeſſion of Cape Corſe, and to have kept the French ſhut up in the maritime places, as the Genoeſe were, before the treaty. He would thus have been enabled to have received ſupplies in any quantity; for England, and all the Italian powers, aſſiſted him privately.

In the ſame manner, at the attack of the camp of St. Nicholas, if he had ordered a body of troops to penetrate through the plain of Nebbio, on the ſide of Sorio and Petralba, he could have carried St. Fiorenzo, which was entirely open, and where there were but one hundred and fifty men. The place itſelf was encumbered with magazines and hoſpitals. The diviſion under general Grandmaiſon was four

leagues distant, and his retreat would have been cut off.

But forgetting what he did not do, and which perhaps depended not upon himself, all his attempts were bold, admirably combined, and executed with great art and precision. The conspiracy at Oletta, conducted by Galicetti, failed only in consequence of an accident very fortunate for the French. The surprise of a whole battalion in the Patrimonio was an attack upon winter quarters, that would have done honour to the greatest general.

During the campaign of 1769, he did not lose his courage, notwithstanding the numerous forces assembled against him. The rash and desperate engagement on the part of fifteen hundred Corsicans against the French army at Ponte-Nuovo, proves what might have been achieved by that brave nation. In the course of this campaign, he ought to have sent more parties to act upon our rear, and make war on our mules and convoys. All the enterprises of this kind attempted by him proved successful; had he multiplied them, and converted this into his principal system of warfare, he would have forced us perhaps to have fallen back for want of provision. Had he but held out until the rainy

rainy ſeaſon, it is poſſible that he might have ſaved the liberties of this country during another ſummer, which would have been doing great things; for then foreign powers could have interfered, or the intrigues of the court might at leaſt have produced the diſgrace of the duke de Choiſeul, which would have entirely changed the face of affairs.

As Paoli poſſeſſed a genius capable of perceiving all theſe combinations, it is moſt likely owing to events that occurred, and obſtacles experienced by him on the part of his own nation, that we ought to attribute, not the faults, but the want of perfection, in his plan of defence. What he has achieved will always be a glorious hiſtorical monument in favour of him, and this extraordinary people.

The conqueſt of Corſica is an inexcuſable piece of injuſtice on the part of the court of France. The Genoeſe had not any right to ſell, or the French a right to purchaſe a territory, whence the former had been driven upwards of thirty years, by a nation which, ſince that epoch, was free. The duke de Choiſeul made the king of France purchaſe litigious claims and a bad law-ſuit, which coſt a great deal of money. In addition to the blood of the

people, which unfortunately but ſeldom enters into political calculations, theſe two campaigns have either occaſioned or become the pretext for the expenditure of a ſum exceeding eighty millions extraordinary; and this too, for the purpoſe of conquering an iſland, which, notwithſtanding every art of fiſcal rapacity, has always coſt a balance of ſix hundred thouſand *livres* a year over and above the amount of its revenue. Colonies, grants, all have been tried and failed, and have only ſerved to alienate the minds of the Corſicans, on whom reſtraints of every kind have been impoſed, and theſe in their turn have tended not a little to diſguſt their free genius, and their ſimple and almoſt ſavage habits.

Mr. de Chauvelin had not a ſufficient number of troops to achieve the conqueſt of this iſland, and yet his army was accompanied by a parliament, an intendant, a crowd of clerks belonging to the farmers-general, cuſtom-houſe officers, commiſſioners of the marine for the eſtabliſhment of fiſheries, and other regulations, ſurveyors of the crown lands, and, in ſhort, all the ſupporters of abſolute power.

Corſica was converted into a great government, on the expreſs condition, like all the reſt in France, that the governor ſhould have an income

come of ſixty thouſand *livres* a year, and yet be prohibited from ever reſiding in his own province. Nearly as much as this was paid after the war to Mr. de Marbeuf, who conducted himſelf but poorly, and an equal ſum was laviſhed on an *intendant* who oppreſſed the country.

If the duke de Choiſeul, inſtead of permitting himſelf to be miſled by the artifices of the Genoeſe, and by the intriguing and avaricious diſpoſition of thoſe who ſurrounded him, as Dumouriez foreſaw in 1763, had adopted his plan; had permitted the treaty with Genoa to have remained a dead letter, without appearing however to violate it; and by means of ſecret aſſiſtance, had enabled the nation to have formed itſelf into a republic; he would have acquired an uſeful ally in this new power, and enjoyed its excellent harbours at the expence of about four millions of *livres*, while France would have been really and truly more aſſuredly miſtreſs of Corſica than after the conqueſt of that iſland, which only acquired for her a burdenſome poſſeſſion.

Mr. de Lomellini, although a man of great good ſenſe, obſerved one day to Dumouriez, during his reſidence in Genoa, that it would be a very happy thing were it po[illegible]ble to bore a

large hole in the centre of Corſica, on purpoſe to bury it under the ocean. He meant to expreſs by means of this figure, that it would always occaſion great trouble to whoever might be in poſſeſſion of it, and become the cauſe of frequent wars. Mr. de Lomellini was miſtaken, becauſe he ſet out on the principle of a foreign ſovereignty. If, in that caſe, it is impoſſible to remedy the danger, and this iſland cannot be blotted out from the face of the globe, there is but one wiſe part to be adopted, which is, to abandon the people to their love of liberty. Then all the countries of Europe will enjoy the produce of its excellent ſoil, and the advantage reſulting from the numerous ports and gulfs, with which nature has indented this iſland.

The ſame advantages ſtill exiſt, and will exiſt always. It were to be wiſhed that the powers of Europe, enlightened by the aſtoniſhing ſpirit of revolution which agitates this charming portion of the globe, would recollect that their true intereſt conſiſts in moderation; that not only they ought to permit the Corſicans to remain in tranquillity, but protect their independence againſt France, and every other power that may form pretenſions to this precious ſpot; ſo that the people of Corſica themſelves may be enabled

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to eſtabliſh a ſolid conſtitution, in ſtrict analogy with their own free genius, and by means of a ſage government, correct the ſole vice that obſcures their good qualities, and oppoſes itſelf to their happineſs.

CHAP. VII.

The War in Poland, 1770.

DUMOURIEZ returned to France, in company with the unfortunate Biron, then duke de Lauzun, and nephew to the duke de Choiſeul, who was entruſted with diſpatches to the king, containing the particulars of the conqueſt of Corſica. The court was then at Compeigne, where a *holiday camp* was formed for the education of the dauphin and his brothers. It was there that he was ſhocked to behold the * old king of France degrade himſelf in preſence of his army, by ſtanding uncovered at the ſide of a magnificent phaeton, in which the Dubarry was ſeated. He himſelf had ſupped twenty times at Paris with this creature, whom he could then have poſſeſſed, had he but wherewithal to have paid for her, and whom all France has enjoyed. Bluſhing for his king, and ſighing for his country, he ſpoke on this ſubject to the duke de Choiſeul, who had ordered him to be

* Louis XV.—*Tranſ.*

provided

provided with horſes, and to do duty as an *aide-de-camp*. "What would you have?" replied the miniſter, in a gay tone of voice, "the king has occaſion for a miſtreſs; but this little rogue embarraſſes me very much; d'Aiguillon and Meaupou are behind the curtain." The Dubarry, who knew of his arrival, and who perceived that he had not come, like the reſt of the nation, to adore her, cauſed him to be reproached with his omiſſion, and although not much given to revenge, ſhe afterwards readily aſſiſted in ſending him to the Baſtille.

Dumouriez had loſt an intimate friend by the death of his father; he now found another equally affectionate in the uncle, with whom he had formerly reſided at Verſailles. This mild and virtuous relation loved him as much as if he had been his own ſon. He gave him apartments in his houſe, in addition to which he himſelf took a lodging at Paris, whither he went to make a final ſettlement of the family eſtate with Madame de Schomberg. His ſhare of the property left him by his father amounted to about ſeventy thouſand *livres*, which produced him near three thouſand *livres* a-year.

The duke de Choiſeul preſented him with a penſion of three thouſand *livres* for his own

ſervices

ſervices and thoſe of his father, and he was paid all his appointments as aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general of the Corſican army, amounting to five hundred livres a month, until the year 1770.

He ſpent that winter at Paris with a very amiable ſociety of men of letters, compoſed of Favier, Crébillon, Collé, Guibert, and ſeveral others. They aſſembled at the houſe of a female of the name of Legrand, the former friend and companion of the Dubarry, but who had not made ſuch a brilliant fortune, becauſe ſhe had too much wit for Verſailles. She was in truth a Ninon L'Enclos; ſhe died while yet young, and he was tenderly attached to her until the hour of her death. He had not however entirely loſt ſight of his couſin, he wiſhed to go and ſee her at Caen, but being diſguſted at the extravagant devotion which ſhe was ſaid to practiſe, he put off this journey until the enſuing ſpring.

It was at this epoch that his intimacy with the count de Broglio commenced; this was productive of ſingular conſequences. That great nobleman had an infinite deal of wit, and a juſt notion of public affairs, but never of his own, becauſe he permitted himſelf in the latter caſe

to be conſtantly blinded by ambition, intereſt, or anger, three paſſions which always had the upper hand in his breaſt. He was well acquainted with the art of war, yet he had not been ſo fortunate as his brother, the marſhal, and he was not beloved by the troops. He had commenced his diplomatic career at an early period of his life, but his numerous enemies had almoſt inſtantly put a ſtop to his progreſs. He imagined himſelf nearly deſtitute of employment, although he was a lieutenant-general, and governor of a province, becauſe his ambition aimed at ſtill higher proſpects. He conſidered himſelf poor with an income of two hundred thouſand livres a year, becauſe his avarice thirſted after more. He aſpired to all the departments in the ſtate, and yet was never able to obtain any one. He poſſeſſed the ſecret confidence of Louis XV, and was nevertheleſs continually receiving public affronts from that monarch. Notwithſtanding this, his paſſions and mental diſquietude preyed only upon himſelf, and were counterbalanced by great virtues. He was brave, auſtere in his manners, a good huſband, a good father, a good brother, a good friend, and a good citizen.

Louis XV, the moſt hypocritical and the weakeſt

weakeſt of kings, had only learned during the courſe of a long reign, to deſpiſe and ſuſpect all thoſe who ſurrounded him. The character of the count de Broglio was too deciſive for him to be entruſted with any great public employment, but he acted in a myſterious department, which for a long time was the terrour and the deſpair of the then adminiſtration; his majeſty kept up a ſecret correſpondence with him, communicated all his affairs in writing, and demanded his advice in return; this was ſcarcely ever with an intention to follow his counſels, but merely to be able to blame the miniſters, when affairs took an untoward direction. Louis XV took care to have all his notes returned, that he might not ſuffer from any indiſcretion.

The count de Broglio poſſeſſed a well regulated mind, but his knowledge was far from being extenſive. He was no longer of an age to ſtudy, and his numerous occupations as a courtier would not have allowed him time ſufficient for that purpoſe. The marquis de Voyer, a man almoſt of the ſame turn with himſelf, and actuated by ſimilar paſſions, but whoſe character was ſtained by immorality and debauchery, enjoyed his confidence, and had adviſed him to engage Favier in the political department of his correſpon-

correſpondence. Favier afterwards introduced Dumouriez, and Guibert, whoſe father was indebted for his fortune to the marſhal de Broglio, was alſo employed.

At the beginning of the year 1770, the duke de Choiſeul told Dumouriez, that he wiſhed to ſend him into Poland; he added, that he had already ſtationed ſeveral ſecret agents with the confederates of Bar, who announced a grand confederation and extraordinary vigour; that they claimed the guaranty of France, agreeably to ſeveral exiſting treaties; that the court of Vienna, which was a party to the ſame guaranty, appeared very cold reſpecting their intereſts, having but juſt eſcaped from a ruinous war, and being unwilling to give offence; and that he was deſirous of being exactly informed of what might be expected from the efforts of the Poles, before he came to any poſitive determination.

After liſtening to him with the utmoſt attention, Dumouriez replied, that it was extremely proper to ſend ſome one to acquire juſt notions relative to theſe points, previouſly to an ultimate deciſion; that he thanked the duke for the preference which he gave him in reſpect to ſo important a miſſion; that he would

would accept it with zeal, and endeavour to fulfil his wiſhes according to the beſt of his abilities; but that he was extremely ignorant as to the hiſtory, the geography, the conſtitution, the intereſts, and the preſent turbulent ſtate of the republic; and that whoever took upon him ſuch an employment, without poſſeſſing the preliminary knowledge, muſt be an impoſtor, who would moſt certainly deceive him. He therefore demanded his permiſſion to ſtudy the affairs of Poland during three months before his departure, and he begged him to give orders either to the keeper of the archives, or to the firſt clerk of the office entruſted with the concerns of that country, to confide ſuch papers to him as he might demand, relative to all that had occurred ſubſequently to the year 1764, the epoch of the election of king Poniatowſky; and during this interval, the arrival of the deputy whom the confederates intended to ſend, to reſide at the court of Verſailles, might be expected. The miniſter approved of theſe obſervations, and inſtantly wrote an order with his own hand to Mr. Gerard, chief clerk in the northern department; in conſequence of which he was to commu-

communicate to him all the ſtate papers that had paſſed between France and Poland ſince 1764.

As the duke de Choiſeul was not ignorant of his connection with the count de Broglio, whom he deteſted, he aſked if it might not be uſeful to procure all the intelligence which this nobleman could give him relative to Poland, where he had been ambaſſadour; and he received permiſſion for that purpoſe, although it was granted with an air of repugnance.

He then returned to Paris, purchaſed all the books and maps relative to Poland, which he was able to procure, and began to ſtudy theſe, before he puzzled his brain with the negotiations, which would have only filled his memory with diplomatick traſh, that could never have been of much ſervice to him, becauſe papers of this deſcription are replete with contradictions, and ſcarcely ever preſent any other than falſe ideas. The reſult, that is to ſay, the treaties themſelves, are to be found in the gazettes, and when the queſtion reſpects the great intereſts of nations, and not the intrigues of courts, they are generally ſufficient. Accordingly the gazettes, although very incorrect reſpecting facts, form a better vehicle

vehicle for the ſtudy of political principles, than is generally imagined.

At this period, he prevailed upon the duke de Choiſeul to pay the expence of the beautiful Atlas of Poland, by Rizzi Zannoni, for which he advanced ſome money.

He now began to ſtudy the affairs of that republic regularly ſix hours a day. He procured from the royal library all the books of which he ſtood in need, and he conſulted Favier, the count de Broglio, and Mr. de Chauvelin.

About this time too, he alſo commenced an intimacy with the learned abbé de Mably, who had drawn up the plan of a government for Poland, as well as J. J. Rouſſeau, and ſeveral other writers of the ſame kind; but he found their works to be merely ſpeculative, and entirely inapplicable to the preſent circumſtances. It is theſe political metaphyſicians, whoſe principles ill underſtood, and exaggerated by French levity, have produced the horrible revolution, which is now ſhamefully deſtroying that unhappy empire.

It was at this period that Dumouriez deemed it his duty to take a laſt ſtep in reſpect to his

his couſin. He had been the innocent cauſe of her ſecluſion from the world. He attributed her devotion to the weariſomeneſs of a cloiſter, the ardour of a warm head, and a heart replete with ſenſibility: for *devotion* is *love*. He was diſengaged. Although far from being rich, yet, as his deſires were limited, he might be able to maintain his couſin genteely, for being well acquainted with his aunt's harſhneſs and ſelf-love, he doubted not, but that her portion would be confined merely to what the law allowed. The loſs of her beauty, and her ſickly ſtate, appeared to him to be ſo many additional motives for forming an union with her. He was about to undertake a long journey, and he could not better repair the uneaſineſs which he had involuntarily occaſioned, than by beſtowing his name, and his ſmall fortune upon her.

After having communicated this reſolution to his uncle, who diſapproved it, and termed the whole a romantic enterprize, he wrote and informed her, that Providence, by refuſing her the ſtrength neceſſary to ſupport the ſtate ſhe had embraced, pointed out the road which ſhe ought to follow; that he now offered her his hand, and that he would not reſtrain her

in any particular reſpecting her mode of life, and opinions; he concluded with requeſting a deciſive anſwer.

This at length arrived, and the following are the words with which it commenced: "It is from the foot of my crucifix that I now addreſs you." The remainder of the letter was in the ſame ſtrain; in ſhort, ſhe exhorted him to renounce the world, and put a direct negative on his requeſt. He accordingly deemed himſelf entirely abſolved from this engagement, and no longer gave himſelf any concern about it.

The courts of Verſailles and Vienna were at this moment ſtrictly connected together by means of an alliance, the work of the duke de Choiſeul, who wiſhed to draw the knot ſtill tighter by means of the marriage of the dauphin with Maria Antonietta, daughter of the illuſtrious and reſpectable Maria Thereſa. He expected to find with this union a new ſupport for his tottering credit; and he hoped alſo, that the candour, the beauty, and the graces of this young princeſs, would ſoon give a different tone to a debauched court. He was deceived. The amiable dauphineſs was adored by the French nation, and her huſband;

but ſhe did not obtain the favour of an old and diſſolute monarch until, after a long ſtruggle, ſhe had admitted his unworthy miſtreſs into her company.

Far from receiving any ſuccour from this event, it only tended ſtill more to precipitate the ruin of the duke de Choiſeul. The dauphin, father of Louis XVI, had deteſted this miniſter, and his ſon, the then dauphin, did not love him. His pride, joined to the indiſcretion of his ſiſter the ducheſs of Grammont, at length completed his diſgrace, which took place at the end of the preſent year.

The unfortunate dauphineſs arrived in France under the moſt fatal auſpices. More than ſix hundred perſons were either trodden or ſtifled to death, on the day of her entrance into Paris, and ſhe lived during twenty years in a round of frivolous pleaſures, and real misfortunes. Calumny has blackened her foibles. She committed many faults, but was never guilty of any crimes. She long made an ill uſe of her power, to render many perſons ungrateful in conſequence of her prodigality; her rigour never made any one unhappy. Fickle, and careleſs in her proſperity, ſhe diſplayed, amidſt unbounded misfortunes, an heroic gran-

deur of mind. Monſters have forced her to ſubmit to a puniſhment only fit to be inflicted on the greateſt criminals; they have waſhed away all her ſtains, and poſterity will only behold in her the moſt unfortunate and moſt courageous woman that ever wore a crown.

Dumouriez thought that the feſtivities preparing at Paris, and Verſailles, in conſequence of this unhappy marriage, might force him in ſpite of himſelf into a courſe of diſſipation, which would prove prejudicial to his labours. He therefore hired a ſmall houſe at Meudon, whither he retired with the chevalier de Taulès, his intimate friend, a man replete with courage, wit, and talents, and who was employed on a great work relative to the alliances with the Helvetick body.

Thither he carried all the diſpatches from the agents of France in Poland, ſince 1764, and made an analyſis of them in company with the chevalier, who proved very ſerviceable to him, as he had juſt arrived from the confederation of Bar, whither the duke de Choiſeul had ſent him in the courſe of the preceding year.

He reduced all his labours, during three whole months, to a memorial of twenty pages, in

in which he inſiſted, that the influence of France ought to be confined, at preſent, to the aim of reducing all the partial confederations, which were independent, without concord, and even inimical to each other, into one general confederation. If this could be attained, he was of opinion that the military efforts of the Poles ought to be aſſiſted by means of a ſubſidy, and a reinforcement of officers, engineers, and cannon; on condition, however, that they ſhould ſubmit to a regular ſyſtem of warfare, and combine their operations with the motions of the Turkiſh army, which at that time was acting with great vigour in Moldavia.

He went and preſented this very ſimple plan to the duke de Choiſeul; he at the ſame time obſerved, that as there were more than three hundred leagues diſtance between Poland and Paris, too much time would be loſt if an agent were ſent thither without the power of carrying the ſcheme into execution, ſhould it be found to be practicable. He added that great care ſhould be taken in reſpect to the choice of the perſon, who might be deemed proper for a miſſion ſo important in its nature, and ſo extenſive in its details; that it would be neceſſary

to be well aſſured of his knowledge, his probity, and his prudence, ſo that an intire reliance might be placed in him, and he might be provided with unlimited powers, and whatever money he demanded. The duke, who approved of every thing, told him that his choice was fixed, and that he muſt prepare to ſet off; he aſſigned him the ſum of twelve thouſand *livres* for his journey, and three thouſand livres a month.

A few days after this conference, the count Wielhorſki arrived, accompanied by his wife, who was ſiſter to the count Oginſky; he came to reſide at the court of France, in quality of ſecret miniſter from the confederation, and was endowed with patriotiſm, merit, and knowledge. He not only approved of the plan ſuggeſted by Dumouriez, but he concerted with him relative to the beſt means of procuring the reunion of all the private confederations into one general maſs, ſo that the operations of the political body might not be diſturbed by the Ruſſian troops: he was alſo decidedly of opinion, that the adminiſtrative and legiſlative powers ſhould aſſemble at Eperiès, in Upper Hungary, where the miniſter from France was to reſide along with them.

Orders

Orders were accordingly given to Mr. Durand, miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of Verſailles, at Vienna, to ſolicit permiſſion for that purpoſe, and all the arrangements at length being completed, Dumouriez ſet off for Eperiès in the month of July 1770.

When he waited on the duke de Choiſeul to take his leave, he was admitted to a private conference with that miniſter, who diſcovered a very important ſecret to him. He had entered into office at the beginning of 1761, a period when the ſuperior genius of Frederick the great, and the maritime power of the Engliſh, had plunged the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon into a ſeries of diſgraces to which they were unable to put a ſtop, and he appeared to have ſeized the helm of affairs for no other purpoſe than that of ſigning an unequal and ſhameful peace. Five years of a brilliant adminiſtration had however reſtored the confidence of all the powers of Europe, and he wiſhed to take advantage of his influence, to enable France once more to aſſume an honourable attitude.

The court of Madrid had at this moment a diſpute with that of St. James's, relative to the Manilla ranſom, which the former re-

fuſed to pay, the contraband trade carried on between Honduras and Campeachy, the ſettlements on the iſland of Ruattan and the Moſquito ſhore, and alſo the ſeizure of Falkland iſlands.

Mr. de Choiſeul had ſent into Spain, in 1763, a naval architect belonging to Toulon, called Gautier, on purpoſe to ſuperintend the conſtruction of men of war; pilots belonging to the Eaſt India company, to teach the navigation of the ſtraits of Sunda, and open a communication between her eſtabliſhments in the Pacifick Ocean and our colonies in India; a colonel of artillery called Roſtin[illegible], and alſo the famous Maritz, to eſtabli[illegible] for cannon, and engines for boring them, which Maritz had lately invented.

The duke had alſo inſtructed Mr. de Vergennes, during the preceding year, to prevail upon the Porte to declare war againſt Ruſſia; and being diſcontented with the contradictions of that miniſter, although the object of his miſſion was fulfilled, he nevertheleſs appointed Mr. de St. Prieſt to ſucceed him, with orders to do every thing in his power to give a new edge to the hoſtile diſpoſition of the Turks. In conſequence of one of thoſe fantaſtical

fantaſtical events ariſing out of the intrigues which courts always ſubſtitute in the room of politicks, the latter afterwards obtained the order of St. Alexander from the empreſs, on account of his having done every thing in his power to bring about a peace.

While he was thus making preparations for war abroad, he exerciſed no leſs activity in re-eſtabliſhing the navy, and ſtrengthening the colonies. He looked upon the poſſeſſion of Corſica as the certain means of enſuring a ſuperiority in the Mediterranean. He at the ſame time employed la Rozière, a very able officer [illegible] ſtaff, and the count de Broglio, to digest the plan of a deſcent upon England; and to the latter he held out the bait of inveſting either himſelf or his brother, with the chief command, with a view of drawing them over to his party. He had, moreover, eſtabliſhed a new ſyſtem of diſcipline, and adopted meaſures to render the army complete.

He anticipated in the confederation of Poland the means of lighting up a conflagration in the north to torment Ruſſia; if the affairs of the republic could but be brought to aſſume ſome conſiſtency, this circumſtance might pro-

duce

duce a diverſion that would balance the ſuperiority of the Ruſſians over the Turks, which, as it was eaſy to foreſee, would ſoon take place; if the king of Pruſſia deemed it of ſufficient conſequence to interfere, he hoped to be able to engage the court of Vienna to undertake the defence of the Poles; and he would be enabled to induce the court of Saxony to join the league, by holding out to it the proſpect of once more aſcending the throne of Poland. He had felt the pulſe of Sweden, and was then preparing the revolution which burſt forth in 1772. In ſhort, it was his intention to bring [illegible] plans into action in 1771, as he [illegible] to be better prepared for war [illegible] in this he was right.

He detailed all the particulars of this ſche[illegible] with equal clearneſs and energy, and Dumouriez diſcovered another motive, of a perſonal nature, which had not been mentioned. It was, that the duke de Choiſeul was anxious as ſpeedily as poſſible to involve Louis XV in all the embarraſſments reſulting from a war, on purpoſe to preſerve his own credit in oppoſition to the duke d'Aguillon, and the chancellor Maupeou, who had eſtranged this debauched monarch

monarch from him, by plunging him into the moſt ſhameful intemperance. The motive avowed by the duke de Choiſſeul, which was to repair the diſgrace of a diſadvantageous peace, was extremely honourable; but he might even have acknowledged his private reaſons, for to have put an end to the vile intrigue, which diſhonoured the king, would have been to have ſerved France.

Dumouriez replied to him as follows: "Your project is grand, and I ſhould be extremely happy were it in my power to aſſiſt you in the execution of it. You appear to be content with my plan; conſider it, however, as a mere chimera, for it is built upon conjectures only; and I have no faith in teleſcopes that diſcover what is doing three hundred leagues off. I am about to repair to Eperiès, where I will act on a great ſcale; if a good diverſion can be produced by means of the confederates, I will remain there: in that caſe, do not heſitate to ſend me every thing I may demand of you; if nothing can be done, I now ſolemnly aſſure you, that I will return in the ſpace of a ſingle month. Promiſe in that caſe to employ me in the expedition againſt England."

The

The duke on this ſaid: "You muſt ſet out then immediately; I will not give you any inſtructions."

"I defy you to give me any," replied he with vivacity; "you know not more than myſelf what is to be done." This ſally made the miniſter, who was extremely amiable, laugh heartily. It was the laſt time they ever ſaw one another, although he remained attached to the duke until his death.

No miniſter ſince his day has equalled him. He poſſeſſed a wonderful per[illegible] uncommonly juſt way[illegible] which enabled him to [illegible] with great rapidity, r[illegible] inconſiderate. His dil[illegible] good, and he was not at[illegible] by far too complaiſant t[illegible] him, and more eſpecial[illegible] even pretended that he was too much attached to her. On learning that among the ſoc[illegible]y who frequented mademoiſelle Legrand's houſe, he was known by the name of *Ptolemy*, he only laughed. He was extremely expenſive. By way of flattering him, it was cuſtomary to have his portrait painted facing that of Sully's, on the ſnuff boxes. Mademoiſelle

Arnoux, a celebrated ſinger at the opera houſe, having ſaid very pleaſantly, that theſe were *receipt and expenditure* perſonified, he ſent for, and laughed heartily with her, at this biting jeſt. He loaded with favours a perſon of the name of Delille, who compoſed the famous verſes entitled "the chriſtmas carrols of the court," in which he was ſatiriſed. In ſhort, his virtues, his genius, his faults, his very vices, were all amiable; he must have found the monarchy very ſtable, or himſelf; and then the French would not be atrabilarious fools, and cannibals of Europe.

Dumouriez, in the courſe of his journey, made profound reflections on what had been communicated to him by the duke de Choiſeul. He was eager to employ his talents in the miſſion with which he was entruſted. He had not entered into any formal engagement, but he would have been vexed to have returned without attempting ſomething. On one hand, the fear of being dazzled by the deſire of achieving what was great; and, on the other, the dread of failing, by adopting too much prudence and circumſpection,

cumſpection, kept him equally on his guard againſt hope and diſcouragement.

On his arrival at Straſburg, he learned by mere accident at the marquis de Contades's, that prince Xavier of Saxony, recently appointed adminiſtrator of the electorate, adopting a ſage economy, with a deſign to reeſtabliſh the exhauſted finances of that ſtate, intended to make a great reform in the army. His brother Charles of Saxony, a very brave prince, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the ſeven years war, had been nominated duke of Courland by his father Auguſtus III, king of Poland; but he poſſeſſed the title only, Ruſſia having reſtored that duchy to the family of Biron. He had eſpouſed a lady of the family of Kraſinſki, niece to count Kraſinſki, marſhal of the confederation of Bar, and alſo of the biſhop of Kaminieck, a moſt ardent confederate.

Dumouriez took the liberty to write a letter to this prince, informing him, that he had ſomething very important to communicate relative to Poland, and that not being able to paſs through Dreſden, he requeſted his royal highneſs to honour him with an interview at Munich, where he would be on the ſecond of Auguſt, but could not remain long.

He

He accordingly arrived on the firſt of that month, waited on the count de Follard, miniſter of France, and having a letter of introduction to him from the duke de Choiſeul, he requeſted that he would preſent him to the elector. They accordingly went together to Nymphenbourg, where he found the duke of Courland, who was exact at the place of redezvous. He was almoſt immediately introduced into an apartment, into which the elector and the archduke ſoon after entered. He then unfolded to them the ſubject of his miſſion, told them that the count Wielhorſki had promiſed in the name of the Poles, to aſſemble all the malecontents in one confederation, and that he was about to reſide with it at Eperiès; he obſerved, that if he would be directed by him, the firſt ſtep taken ſhould be to recogniſe his highneſs as duke of Courland, and to ſummon him in that quality, to furniſh the contingent the duchy was bound to aſſiſt Poland with in time of war, which is two thouſand infantry, and five hundred cavalry; he, on his part, muſt in return recogniſe the confederation as the repreſentative of the republic legally aſſembled, and in a ſtate of war, promiſe a ſubſidy, levy the ſix thouſand Saxons about to be diſbanded, under

der the denomination of the contingent of Courland, and after to ſerve in perſon, which he however had no occaſion to do until he ſhould be able to head an army worthy of himſelf. He at the ſame time declared to him, that if he would but accede to theſe conditions, he would undertake that France ſhould make good all the expences incident to the levying of the contingent, and the pay of the Saxons during the war.

The ſurpriſe of theſe two auguſt perſonages was uncommonly great. The duke, who was eager to ſubſcribe to all theſe engagements, wiſhed inſtantly to reduce them to writing; but Dumouriez requeſted him to proceed no further at preſent, as this project was the mere offspring of his own brain.

He ſpent a week very agreeably at this charming court, where he found one of his old friends with whom he had been acquainted in Spain; this was Louis de Viſmes, who reſided there in quality of miniſter plenipotentiary of England, and who ſince died inveſted with the ſame employment at Peterſbourg. De Viſmes endeavoured to penetrate into his buſineſs at Munich, and wiſhed to learn the reaſon of his being ſo well received. He told him in confidence,

fidence, that he was going to join the Turkiſh army, and that he was about to obtain leave to raiſe a *corps* in Bavaria. This intelligence he inſtantly communicated to his court.

Dumouriez viſited the arſenal at Munich, and made a conditional purchaſe from the elector of 22,000 muſkets. He charged the count de Follard, as ſoon as he received the conſent of the duke de Choiſeul, to cauſe them to be firſt embarked on the Inn, and afterwards carried along the Danube as far as Buda, where he would take meaſures for their being received, and cauſe the elector to be reimburſed. He communicated all his proceedings to the miniſter, who approved of them.

On his arrival at Vienna, he found two Poliſh deputies, whom the confederates aſſembled at Eperies had ſent thither to meet him: one called Sarnacki, to repreſent Poland; and another for Lithuania, named Domainſki. Mr. Durand preſented him to prince Kaunitz, and the empreſs, and he had a conference with the king of the Romans, Joſeph II, in the cabinet of natural hiſtory.

Mr. Durand was one of your *ſtarched diplomaticians*, but he was a very good, although a very phlegmatick, and awkward man. He

desired Dumouriez to communicate his instructions to him; he in his turn replied, that he was not furnished with any: on this the minister began to be suspicious, lest he should render himself independent of him. He therefore employed a person of the name of Gerard, to penetrate into the secret of this mission, which the duke de Choiseul had not disclosed, and to prevent Dumouriez from intermeddling with the pensions which the court of France was supposed to pay to certain Poles, of whom many had been dead upwards of ten years, and others, such as general Mockronowski, and Birzinski, were publickly attached to Russia.

The good Durand told him, that he could not continue his journey without fresh orders; he assured him on his part, that he was determined to proceed; however, at length to satisfy this gentleman, he proposed to him, to supply what the duke de Choiseul had forgotten, and to draw up instructions for him with his own hand.

Mr. Durand acceded to the proposition, and next morning presented him with a paper, which began with the following words: "The season after the harvest being that which is the most favourable, &c." He read no more, but

but immediately ſet out, after being detained five whole days by theſe petty artifices.

His two deputies, with their Poliſh manners, embarraſſed him a good deal; but he could not diſpenſe with their company during the journey. They ſpoke nothing but latin, and in general Dumouriez made uſe of that language during the whole war, being unable to treat with the confederation in any other tongue. They had purchaſed two or three hundred muſkets, and as many ſabres, and piſtols.

They ſailed along the Danube as far as Peſt, where they had a correſpondent, whoſe name and addreſs he tranſmitted to Mr. Follard, to ſerve as a direction for the 22,000 Bavarian muſkets.

This journey was not completed until the end of Auguſt. On his arrival at Eperiés, he found there the count de Pac, marſhal general of the confederation of Lithuania, who alſo performed the functions of marſhal of the general confederation, as the count de Kraſinſki had gone to the Turkiſh army with the confederation of Bar, of which that of Eperiés was nothing more than the repreſentative.

The prince de Sapieha, regimental-general of Lithuania, alſo repreſented the count Potocki,

regimental-general of Bar, which was recognized as the general confederation.

The marſhals of the confederations are their civil and legiſlative chiefs; the regimental-generals the military leaders; the confederations themſelves are inſurrections againſt the abuſe of power; they are legal according to the conſtitution. They have their ſtatutes, their forms, and their laws. The king is always invited to accede to them, if they be not directed againſt himſelf. If he refuſe, their legitimate power becomes paramount to his own, when the confederations are complete, that is to ſay, compoſed of all, or a decided majority of the palatinates of the two Polands, and of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

It is common for the party againſt whom a confederation is directed, to oppoſe it by means of a new one; they accuſe each other of illegality, and after having committed many diſorders on both ſides, a mediator more powerful than the republic (and for a long time paſt, this has been Ruſſia) reconciles them, and reimburſes itſelf for its trouble at the expence of the unfortunate nation.

All the acts of confederation are ſuppoſed to be drawn up either in Poland, or in the grand duchy;

duchy; they ought alſo to be promulged, or at leaſt enrolled in a *grod*, that is to ſay, in the record of a juriſdiction. Thus the confederation eſtabliſhed at Eperiés could not render its acts or edicts valid, unleſs they were inſcribed in a regiſter appertaining to Poland; they were then ſuppoſed to be drawn up within the territories of the republic.

At the epoch when this general confederation aſſembled at Eperiés, the court of Warſaw taxed it with illegality, on account of its reſidence in a foreign country, and endeavoured to oppoſe another confederation to it; but this ſcheme did not ſucceed.

The count de Pac was a man who indulged his pleaſures; he was at once very amiable, and very inconſiderate. He poſſeſſed more ambition than judgment, more audacity than courage. He was eloquent, an accompliſhment which the cuſtom of holding diets renders very common in Poland.

The only man of abilities then at Eperiés was a Lithuanian called Bohucz, ſecretary general to the confederation. Prince Radzivil was a mere brute, but he was at the ſame time the richeſt nobleman in all Poland. The count Zamoiſki, brother of the great chamberlain,

was a reſpectable old man, very ſimple in his manners, and very honeſt. There were two or three young Potockis there. The reſt conſiſted of marſhals, and *regimentals* of the palatines. Some more were ſtill expected, in order to render the confederations complete. The biſhop of Kaminiec, and the count of Wetzel, grand treaſurer of the crown, were of this number.

Dumouriez found but little trouble in ſtudying the characters of all theſe chiefs. Their manners were aſiatick: an aſtoniſhing luxury, ridiculous expences, repaſts prolonged during great part of the day, and carried to exceſs, Pharaoh and dancing in the evening: theſe formed all their occupations. They imagined that the envoy from France was loaded with treaſures for them, and they were reduced to a ſtate of conſternation when he told them, that he had brought no money with him, and that from their manner of living he imagined they did not ſtand in need of any.

He expected, indeed, to ſet out ſoon on his return to France, and he frankly communicated his intentions to Bohucz, from whom he did not conceal the indignation produced by ſo careleſs a conduct in men entruſted with ſuch high concerns,

concerns, more eſpecially as the greater part of them had their lands laid waſte, and their relations baniſhed to Siberia. He thought that the court of France ought not to be ſilly enough to laviſh money on men who made ſo bad an uſe of it. He adviſed the duke de Choiſeul to put a ſtop to the payment of the penſions aſſigned to individuals, and to deſtroy the liſt. The miniſter accordingly complied, which circumſtance completed the chagrin of Gerard, the firſt clerk in the foreign departments.

If from the very beginning he was diſguſted with the political, he was ſtill more diſcouraged with the military ſtate of the confederation. The letters written by the biſhop of Kaminiec to the court of France had announced numerous forces, and great victories. Dumouriez had been impreſſed with the ſame idea, from the exaggerations of the deputies who had gone to meet him at Vienna. It appeared by the liſts they produced, that their forces amounted to more than forty thouſand troops. On queſtioning the French officers who had ſerved along with them, and whom he interrogated on this ſubject, he however diſcovered that all their military eſtabliſhment conſiſted,

1. In four or five thouſand men in Great Poland: theſe were in good condition, and commanded by general Zaremba, a very excellent officer, but who could not be depended upon, as he was connected with the king of Pruſſia, into whoſe ſervice he entered in 1772;

2. In a thouſand irregular horſe, under a brave Coſſack called Sawa; this *corps* was diſperſed, and Sawa himſelf killed ſoon after;

3. In three or four thouſand cavalry under Pulawſki, a very courageous and excellent partiſan; but he could not be prevailed upon to recognize the general confederation, out of hatred to count Potocki, who had been the occaſion of his father's dying in priſon;

4. In about three thouſand five hundred men, under the orders of count Miaczinſki, a very brave man, who afterwards ſerved with great docility;

5. In twelve or fifteen hundred troops commanded by a perſon called Walewſki, at once very brave, and very cunning, and who, making his peace afterwards with the king, was created caſtellain of Cracow;

6. In three light *corps*, one of ſeven hundred men led by the marſhal de Czernichew, another

ther of three hundred, whoſe chief was Mazowieſki, and a third of four hundred Lithuanians, under Orzewſko.

The whole conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand men, ſerving under ten leaders, independent, without any concert, diſtruſtful of each other, ſometimes fighting together, or at leaſt debauching each others troops. This body of cavalry, wholly compoſed of nobles equal in point of rank, deſtitute of diſcipline, and ſcorning obedience, badly armed, and ill mounted, ſo far from being equal to the Ruſſian regulars, was even far inferior to the Coſſacks. The confederates had not one ſtrong place, a ſingle piece of artillery, or one man who ſerved on foot.

At the very moment when he deſpaired of being able to extricate them out of this chaos, a very celebrated lady arrived at Eperiés, who, after having figured away in a great character in Saxony, and at the court of the preceding king of Poland, had become the very ſoul of the preſent confederation. This was the counteſs of Mniezeck. The compariſon of this heroine with Armida holds good in every point of view; but it muſt be allowed, on the other hand, that the confederates were not the heroes

of Taſſo. She was daughter to the famous count Bruhl; her huſband was a ſenator and general of Great Poland; he was alſo extremely rich.

She had governed the republic under the auſpices of her father, and ſhe deteſted the preſent king. It was pretended that this proceeded from revenge, having failed in all her attempts to ſeduce, and direct him. Although not in the flower of her youth, ſhe ſtill poſſeſſed a great ſhare of beauty; ſhe added to this a vaſt genius, a great ſoul, and a mind accompliſhed, generous, and full of ſenſibility; ſhe was endowed with talents of all kinds, ſpoke ſeveral languages with eaſe and perfection, had attained an intimate knowledge of the intereſts of her country, and ſtill more of the characters of its chiefs; ſhe was adored by all parties. One vice tarniſhed all theſe ſublime qualities: ſhe was vindictive, and prone to intrigues.

This lady reanimated his hopes, for he did not conceal from her that he was on the point of abandoning the cauſe. The biſhop of Kaminiec, of whom he entertained but a poor opinion, and who happened to arrive about this period, had quarrelled with the count de Wetzel. She found means to reconcile them; ſhe alſo

alſo ſent for Pulawſky, forced him to acknowledge the confederation, and to renounce his vengeance againſt the family of Potocki, or rather to ſuſpend it until after the war; ſhe diſſolved a dangerous intrigue on the part of a perſon called Cozakowſky, who attempted to detach prince Radzivil from the party, and ſhe took advantage of the affection which Miaczinſky, and a young prince called Sapieha, entertained for her daughter, in order to render them more obedient to the commands which Dumouriez either gave in his own perſon, or tranſmitted to them by means of the council of war. In ſhort, ſhe was infinitely ſerviceable, and did not return to her huſband at Dukla, until after ſhe had prevailed on the confederation to accede to, and commence the execution of Dumouriez' plans.

Theſe plans contained, among other things, a political ſyſtem, for it was neceſſary to give a form of government to the maſs, in order to enable it to act with effect. Permitting the legiſlative power to reſide in the confederation, he transferred the executive to four councils, one for juſtice, a ſecond for finance, a third for foreign affairs, and a fourth to ſuperintend the war department. Each council, the ſta-

tutes

tutes of which he drew up with his own hand, conſiſted of only ſix members and a ſecretary, two of which were ſelected out of each of the factions of the republick. The marſhal-general of the confederation was preſident of all theſe councils, and the ſecretary-general had the inſpection of their records. Every fifteen days the marſhal-general was to preſent the aſſembly with a ſtatement of the deciſions made by, and buſineſs before each council or department. All the members, the ſecretaries excepted, were to be renewed every ſix months.

It was propoſed to ſend prince Radzivil as ambaſſadour extraordinary to the Porte, along with count Czerni, who was to reſide there as ambaſſadour in ordinary. General Sloinſki, and one of the young Potockis, caſtellain of Strezeck, were to remain at Vienna in a diplomatic character. A count Dzirbieſky at the ſame time ſet out to wait upon the duke of Courland, on purpoſe to preſent him with the act recognizing his title, and a ſummons in the name of the confederated republic, to march his contingent.

The council of juſtice was inſtructed to preſent the plan of a law to the general aſſembly,

bly, for the ſafety of private property, the repreſſion of exceſſes committed by the troops, and the trial of ſuch acts of rebellion as might demand either capital puniſhment or the confiſcation of goods. The council of finance was to prepare a plan, and the outline of a decree, for the payment of the ancient impoſts, the creation of new taxes, the confiſcation of lands belonging to the ſtate, the adminiſtration of the palatines, caſtellanies, and ſtaroſties, which might either become vacant or be confiſcated; in ſhort, relative to all the branches of the receipt and expenditure of the public revenues. The council of war was charged to draw up laws relative to the organization of the army, its pay, diſcipline, &c.

What was moſt neceſſary, was to obtain the abolition of the *liberum veto*, an eſſential vice in the Poliſh conſtitution, but to which they appeared to attach an extraordinary value. Dumouriez however obtained the ſuſpenſion of it with very little difficulty. The act for the reunion of the general confederation into one ſingle *corps*, for recognizing the chiefs of the confederation of Bar for its leaders, was ſent to them at the Turkiſh army, along with which they at this time reſided. Duke Charles

of

of Saxony made a reply to the propoſitions brought him by the embaſſy from the confederation, in the manner agreed upon at Munich, and began to enrol the Saxons, out of whom he was to form his contingent.

As ſoon as Dumouriez had formed his plan, he tranſmitted all the particulars about the end of September, to the duke de Choiſeul, of whom he required a ſubſidy of 60,000 livres *per* month, to commence from the firſt of Auguſt, announcing at the ſame time, that if the Poliſh frivolity did not deſtroy all his arrangements, this ſum muſt be conſiderably enlarged in the approaching month of January; in return he received by courier, to the amount of 300,000 livres in bills of exchange on Vienna, for the five laſt months of 1770, with a letter containing a full and entire approbation of his conduct.

Mr. Durand, who did not enjoy the miniſter's confidence, thought that he was acting on too great a ſcale, and not only ſuggeſted, but even commanded him in all his diſpatches, to direct the movements of the ſmall *bodies* of Poles, ſo as to haraſs the rear of the Ruſſian army, which was then ſtationed on the Pruth, and

to

to endeavour to deſtroy their magazines in Podolia and along the Boriſthenes. Theſe vigorous enterpriſes were far beyond the military talents of the Poles.

Dumouriez, however, had formed a far more extenſive plan of warfare, which he now ſubmits with the utmoſt confidence to every well-informed military man, who may happen to read theſe memoirs. The Ruſſians kept poſſeſſion of all Poland, the ſuperficies of which was as large as France, with from twenty to twenty-five thouſand men, then commanded by lieutenant-general Weymarn, and afterwards by lieutenant-general Bibikow. They were divided into ſmall detachments, which chaſed the fugitive Poles in the ſame manner as birds of prey fly after pigeons.

Major-general Suwarow, who has ſince diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the courſe of the late war with the Turks, commanded the ſtrongeſt *corps*; it amounted to four or five thouſand men. One third of the Ruſſian army was compoſed of irregular troops, who ſerved on horſeback. The half of the two remaining thirds conſiſted of good infantry. Colonel Drewitz, more formidable on account of his cruelties and his plundering excurſions than his talents, was the

the terrour of Poland. Lieutenant-general Eſſen, with the rearguard of the army under general Romanzow, occupied the palatinate of Kiow, the Ukraine, and Podolia, with ten or twelve thouſand men. The principal magazines belonging to the Ruſſians were ſtationed at Polonna.

Dumouriez began his operations by endeavouring to procure poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong towns and artillery; he was alſo eager to form a body of infantry. He had demanded from the duke de Choiſeul ſixty officers of the line, ſix engineers, ten officers of artillery, twelve ſerjeants belonging to that *corps* and the *corps* of artificers, and twenty good matroſſes. The firſt batch, which he received through the medium of Mr. Durand, might be conſidered as the very *cream* of French adventurers; notwithſtanding this they ſerved with ability, and moſt of them returned to their native country with ſuperiour ranks. He afterwards got two engineers, two officers of artillery, eight ſerjeants, and eight matroſſes, with thirty diſbanded officers belonging to the infantry and cavalry: all theſe came one after the other, and could not therefore arrive very quickly; but his plan was ſo contrived as to have the whole winter before him.

He

He prevailed upon Pulawſki to ſurpriſe the fortreſs of Czenſtochova on the frontiers of Sileſia. This chief ſucceeded in the enterpriſe, and formed a *corps* of infantry conſiſting of four hundred men, whom he left in that place as a garriſon. There were forty pieces of cannon in the town; he deſired him to leave thirty, to mount ten of the lighteſt on field carriages, and to order covered waggons to be built for the purpoſe of ſupplying them with ammunition. He ſent a French officer to ſuperintend this buſineſs. Drewitz having marched to attack Czenſtochova, was repulſed and beaten, ſo that the Poles now began to perceive the utility of fortreſſes.

During this interval he made Miaczinſki raiſe three hundred infantry, which he marched to the frontiers of Hungary; and an equal number was procured by Walewſki, who occupied the duchy of Teſchen. He purchaſed ſome pieces of cannon in Hungary, he dug up fifty pieces of artillery belonging to different Poliſh noblemen, who had concealed them in the bowels of the earth, and ordered bullets to be caſt for all the *baſtard* calibres. He afterwards pitched upon an old caſtle called Landſkrona, at the head of the Carpathian mountains, which over-

looked the plain of the palatinate of Cracow. He himſelf poſted three hundred infantry there under the command of two French officers, Labadie and Laſerre, and converted it into a place of arms. At the moment he was employed in fortifying it, general Suwarow, who knew of what conſequence it was to prevent ſuch an eſtabliſhment from being formed within ſix leagues of Cracow, arrived with his little army and attacked the caſtle with great fury, but he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the garriſon. Miaczinſki came up with his cavalry at the concluſion of the attack, purſued him during his retreat, and then returned to complete the works. The Ruſſians loſt nearly two hundred and fifty men, chiefly grenadiers.

This adventure contributed not a little to inſpire the Poles with great confidence in fortifications. They were already in poſſeſſion of two ſtrong places; the Ruſſians were deſtitute of large artillery for carrying on ſieges; they beheld cannon and infantry in a manner created for their uſe; and they were now about to commence a leſs vagabond-like ſpecies of warfare.

Dumouriez now iſſued orders for levying ſeveral battalions of infantry. To facilitate this

operation,

operation, he poſted a line of French and German officers along the frontiers to enliſt the Imperial and Ruſſian deſerters; and, at the end of the year, he found that he had gotten eighteen hundred pretty good infantry, which were either quartered at Landſcrona and Biala, or cantoned in the villages of the Carpathian mountains. He purchaſed muſkets for them in Sileſia and in Hungary; he cauſed an eſtimate of the population of the palatinates of Cracow and Sendomir to be made out; and he found that it would be eaſy to raiſe in them from twenty-five to thirty thouſand men.

It was with the utmoſt repugnance, that the Poliſh chiefs conſented to arm the peaſants, whom they wiſhed to retain in ſlavery; but they at length complied from mere neceſſity. He then wrote to Mr. de Choiſeul to tranſmit him money and orders; he requeſted the count de Follard to expedite the twenty-two thouſand muſkets; and he himſelf procured nearly an equal number.

Here follows the plan of operations which he propoſed for the campaign of 1771. He reckoned on at leaſt four thouſand good Saxon infantry, being the contingent of Courland. He

himſelf had enliſted near two thouſand men, the greater part of whom were deſerters. He intended firſt to incorporate twelve thouſand inhabitants of the palatinate of Cracow, and afterwards an equal number of that of Sendomir. The entire regiment of the dragoons of the crown had joined him in a body. He alſo expected a thouſand Saxon cavalry. He only wiſhed to retain with himſelf the cavalry of Miaczinſki, that of Walewſki, the Lithuanians under Orzewſki, and the *corps* commanded by Czernichew, which in all would form a body of more than eight thouſand horſe under the direction of good leaders.

He inclined to leave the *corps* commanded by Zaremba, near Poſen, and that of Sawa on the Lower Viſtula, to menace Warſaw, and keep general Weymarn in check.

He propoſed to ſend Pulawſki, whoſe numbers might be increaſed to ten thouſand men, and alſo his infantry, towards the frontiers of Podolia, to alarm the Ruſſians for the ſafety of the magazines they had eſtabliſhed there.

He had diſpatched a perſon of the name of Putkammer, deputy from Samogitia, to count Oginſki, who was at the head of the army of Lithuania,

Lithuania, compoſed of eight thouſand regular troops, and the Tartar *corps* of Bielck and Kurtloky.

In the mean time, while he with the army of Little Poland, which, including the Saxons, would amount to at leaſt twenty thouſand infantry and eight thouſand cavalry, advanced towards Sendomir, after getting poſſeſſion of Cracow, Oginſki was to commence an inſurrection. The confederation, which was immediately to remove and reſide in the little town of Landſcron, that no more objections might be made to the validity of its acts, was to prepare the POSPOLITE RUSCENI, or, in other words, to order all the nobles to mount on horſeback, with an injunction to join general Oginſki in Lithuania, who, with this irregular but very numerous army, which was to aſſemble at Pinſk, menaced the city of Warſaw.

As ſoon as the army of Little Poland had gotten poſſeſſion of the ſtrong poſition of Sendomir, at the confluence of the Viſtula and the Sau, general Oginſki was to have received orders to proceed by long marches through Smolenſko, to paſs the Boriſthenes there, and to direct his march towards Moſcow. All the Ruſſian army was at this time poſted in Moldavia, the lines

of Aſow, Livonia, or Poland, and there was not a ſingle regiment at hand to prevent Oginſki from penetrating to the very centre of Muſcovy. The Ruſſians would then have been forced to have carried on the war in the boſom of their own country, and the confederation would have been relieved, during this excurſion, from the pay, food, and expences, incurred by this great irregular army.

As to Poland, Dumouriez was to take charge of it with a regular body of troops, which would be reinforced by the whole army of the republic, as it only waited for an opportunity to deſert.

General Weymarn had two great objects in view:

1. To preſerve Warſaw and the perſon of the king, in order to continue the preponderance of Ruſſia:

And, 2. What was perhaps ſtill more eſſential, to guard or cover the magazines of Podolia.

Dumouriez had gotten poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Zamoſc, although he did not garriſon it for want of infantry. Weymarn then had only one of the two following plans to purſue, either to aſſemble all his troops at Warſaw, on purpoſe

to

to oppoſe the Poles who menaced that city; or to abandon the capital, and carrying the king along with him, endeavour to reach Kiow, where he could form a junction with general Eſſen.

In the firſt caſe, general Dumouriez would have marched into Podolia, on purpoſe to deſtroy the magazines; in the ſecond, he would have entered Warſaw, and eſtabliſhed the confederation. A change of the theatre of war would have neceſſarily reſulted from this grand movement; Romanzow could not have remained in Moldavia, when he heard of an incurſion into Ruſſia, and a formidable war blazing in Poland. He would have accordingly retired and been followed by the Turks, who, during the whole of the preſent campaign, were ſtill in great force.

All this would have only put France to the expence of the Saxon contingent; and it is to be preſumed, that ſo extraordinary a change in the poſition of the republic would have produced a great commotion in the north, which would have led to a general war, as was wiſhed for by the duke de Choiſeul, who was preparing to attack the Engliſh. The ſucceſs of this great plan was indeed connected with his exiſtence as

a miniſter; he was diſgraced on the 24th of December, and then the whole ſcheme was abandoned. It was the Dubarry who was deſtined to produce the overthrow of this *mayor of the palace*; and the fate of the north of Europe, and perhaps of all Europe, was thus made to depend on the diſgraceful paſſion which a king of France in his ſixtieth year had conceived for a common ſtrumpet, decreed by Providence to expire twenty-two years after by means of the guillotine.

It was in the month of November, on his return from Landſcron, that he detailed the whole of this plan to the duke de Choiſeul, in a diſpatch which he tranſmitted him by means of an officer. He was already diſcontented with the correſpondence of the miniſter, who no longer wrote any other than vague official letters, in which he recommended to take care not to involve France, and to permit the Poles to act in whatever manner they pleaſed. He was then ſolely occupied in repelling intrigues by means of intrigues; and this employment, which in all courts ſwallows up one half of the time, and three fourths of the moral faculties of miniſters, is always prejudicial to real buſineſs.

Another

Another circumſtance contributed to render this correſpondence more cool. The court of Warſaw, which was entirely under the direction of the Ruſſian ambaſſadour, wiſhed to form another confederation, on purpoſe to oppoſe that of Bar the moment it became general, and formed a legal body capable of repreſenting the republic. This project failing, it was intended to make the king accede to the confederation reſiding at Eperiés; it was thus that the confederation of Radom was tricked; and it was exactly in the ſame manner that that of Targowitz was rendered abortive in 1792.

The firſt intelligence of this ſcheme was received from count Wielhorſki at Verſailles, who was the more alarmed, as the chief clerk Gerard was extremely favourable to this junction, and had deſired him to adviſe the confederation to conſent to it. This was actually delivering them over to the Ruſſians; for if the king acceded to the confederation, they could no longer remain in a foreign country, but muſt unite with him, and in that caſe they were neither provided with fortified places, nor an army to ſhelter or protect them. If, after accepting of his adheſion, they ſhould refuſe to repair

repair to him, he could then repreſent the confederated republic by means of *falſe brethren*, whom he might in that caſe call in; the legality of their proceedings was from that moment at an end, and they would have become at once fugitives, and rebels. In ſhort, if they accepted of the proffered union, a ſuſpenſion of arms would be the reſult, and the Turks, who had declared war againſt Ruſſia for the expreſs purpoſe of maintaining the guaranty of Poland, would have conſidered them as ſo many traitors, and Krazinſki, Potocki, and three thouſand Poles in the army of the grand-viſier, might have been ſacrificed to their vengeance.

The confederation, like every other numerous aſſembly, had its diſorganiſers and its traitors. General Mockronowſki, a very dangerous man, had juſt arrived from *Vienna*; he had been recently at Paris, and communicated the opinion of Gerard to Mr. Durand. The latter, who adopted it, inſtantly deſired Dumouriez to ſupport the propoſition of adheſion with all his intereſt. He but too well foreſaw the danger of ſuch a proceeding to be guilty of ſo much perfidy; it was his determination,

therefore, if he ſhould be conſulted on this buſineſs, to reply, that the Poles alone could decide relative to the advantage, or inconvenience reſulting from ſuch a delicate ſtep.

But in his ſecret conferences with Pac, and Bohucz, he exhorted them to uſe all poſſible means to procure the rejection of the propoſition. General Mockronowſki was a man of much ability, and he poſſeſſed an inſinuating turn of mind. Before the propoſal was laid before the aſſembly, he accordingly endeavoured to gain a certain number of votes; and, in truth, he procured a conſiderable body of partiſans. Dumouriez reſolved to oppoſe to him an antagoniſt ſtill more powerful than himſelf; he accordingly informed Madame de Mniezeck, that he ſtood much in need of her, and that every thing would be loſt if ſhe did not arrive in the courſe of three days. This lady, who was affrighted at the contents of the letter, and at the ſame time curious to be acquainted with the nature of an event that could induce the French miniſter to addreſs her in ſo alarming a ſtyle, arrived at the expiration of thirty hours afterwards. He then explained

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the whole affair to her, and ſhe did her utmoſt to diſconcert the intrigues of general Mockronowſki.

This, however, would not have proved ſufficient, and the king would aſſuredly have been declared the head of the confederation, had not Bohucz meditated a ſtroke of genius equally ſublime and audacious. He compoſed an oration, in which he expoſed all the objections on the part of the Poles againſt the legality of Staniſlaus's election, and his degrading ſubjection to Ruſſia; he accuſed him of being entirely governed by the ambaſſadour of that nation, and of having been the cauſe of all the misfortunes of his country, which would never ceaſe until he was made to deſcend from an uſurped throne. He alſo drew up the act for dethroning him; but took care not to communicate this circumſtance to any one.

Bohucz at that period governed the aſſembly in a deſpotic manner. A maſculine figure, an extraordinary portion of courage, a fine voice, a correct ſtyle, an ardent eloquence, a biting replication, when any one attempted to combat his opinion; all theſe qualities rendered him the oracle of the confederates.

The day previous to that on which the diſcuſſion was to have taken place relative to the admiſſion of Staniſlaus, Bohucz, after treating of ordinary matters, arouſed the attention of the aſſembly, by announcing that he was about to read an important paper to them, on the ſubject of which it was abſolutely neceſſary to come to an immediate determination before they ſeparated. He then delivered his diſcourſe with uncommon animation, and ſupported his opinions by means of arguments drawn from the very objections likely to be made by his opponents.

This unexpected ſtroke abaſhed the king's partiſans to ſuch a degree, that ſo far from daring to mention the propoſition intended to have been made on the ſucceeding day, they unanimouſly voted Staniſlaus depoſed, and the throne vacant.

"I was ſo ſure," exclaimed Bohucz, "that your patriotiſm would induce you to inflict this ſentence, that I beforehand drew up the act declaratory of the *interregnum*." He then read this act, which was a ſublime piece of compoſition, with great rapidity. It was adopted, and ſigned inſtantly, without any one member oppoſing the general enthuſiaſm. So much power does

does an eloquent man poſſeſs over an aſſembly! Since the time of Bohucz, Mirabeau and Fox are the only men of whom ſuch inſtances can be quoted.

A reſolution ſo extraordinary on the part of a repreſentative body, feeble in itſelf, and not hitherto recogniſed, at leaſt publicly, by any one power, was blamed by all the different courts. They did not conſider that it added nothing to the danger of the confederates, that it diſconcerted all the intrigues with which they were ſurrounded, and that if either the Turks or they ſhould prove ſucceſsful, it would become an heroic act. The court of France in particular deemed it extremely improper, and as it was imagined that ſuch a bold ſtep could not have been taken without the knowledge and conſent of its envoy, Gerard made the duke de Choiſeul ſign an official letter, which Dumouriez however only ſhewed to Pac and Bohucz, in which the miniſter notified to the confederation, that the king could not but diſapprove of ſo raſh a proceeding; that the envoy from France ought either to have prevented it, or retired; and that, as he poſſeſſed no authority over a foreign nation, it was his own agent alone that he ſhould call to account.

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He replied to the duke de Choiſeul, that he had taken care not to read his letter to the confederation, becauſe it would have been entirely uſeleſs; that he had not in the leaſt contributed to a reſolution which had been adopted unanimouſly, and in conſequence of a ſpontaneous movement; and that, far from oppoſing, he would have ſupported the meaſure. He then particulariſed all the arguments in its favour, beſeeching him to remember the phraſe he had uſed at parting, "That he had no confidence in thoſe ſpectacles, with which it was pretended one could diſcern objects at four hundred leagues diſtance." The duke would not leave this letter in the hands of Gerard; he took it back, and things remained in their former ſituation.

The act of *interregnum* was conſidered very differently in Poland. Far from weakening the confederation, it procured a crowd of adherents to it. The nation admired the courage of that aſſembly; and ſeveral *magnats*, who durſt not declare themſelves publicly, ſent gentlemen to Dumouriez, to whom they attributed this ſtep, with their ſignatures; which he returned in the courſe of the following year, without ever having mentioned their names, even to his own court, as it would only have involved

involved reſpectable men; of whom there were but too many already embarked, who in the end became the victims of the inconſtancy and perfidy of the court of France.

Thus, at the latter end of the year 1770, every thing promiſed ſucceſs to the confederation. Order was eſtabliſhed in its general aſſembly, the adminiſtration was divided and regulated, the executive power was in full activity, the *liberum veto* was aboliſhed, and the *interregnum*, which was proclaimed, rendered all the intrigues on the part of Ruſſia abortive. A regular army at the ſame time began to be formed; and two towns, beſides Zamoſk, being in their poſſeſſion, places to which they might retreat in caſe of neceſſity were thus provided: two thouſand infantry; a number of field-pieces; the Saxe-Courland contingent, of which ſome part arrived towards the end of December; the intention to form twelve thouſand men into regiments, of which they had already levied between four and five hundred; the army of Lithuania ready to declare in their favour, the moment they choſe to command it; that of the crown only waiting an opportunity to join them; the Turks, to the number of upwards of one hundred and fifty thouſand,

ſand men, ſupporting themſelves in Moldavia; a great plan about to be carried into effect: all theſe hopes and preparations were deſtroyed at Verſailles on the 24th of December 1770 *.

* The day on which the duke de Choiſeul was diſgraced.—*Tranſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

The War in Poland, 1771.

DUMOURIEZ did not learn this unfortunate event until the 8th of January. From that moment he foreſaw the neceſſity of renouncing all his plans, and perceived that Poland was ruined. The court of Vienna had long evinced an averſion to the confederates. In the courſe of the preceding October, it had ſent the count de Thörinck, an imperial commiſſary, to ſeize on the county of Lips; the ſovereignty of which had long been a ſubject of diſpute between the kings of Poland and Hungary; but the poſſeſſion of it, during ſeveral centuries, ſeemed to have confirmed the right in favour of the Poles.

It had alſo eſtabliſhed a line of troops and a rigorous quarantine, which had often occaſioned the diſcomfiture of ſmall detachments belonging to the confederates. Theſe, when purſued by the Ruſſians, were unfeelingly deprived of an aſylum, under pretence of the danger reſulting from the plague.

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The king of Pruſſia and the king of the Romans* had held a conference in the camp at Neuſtadt; and from an intercepted letter written in cypher to the king of Poland, Dumouriez had diſcovered that it was actually in agitation to partition that unhappy country. He was ſo certain of the truth of his conjectures, that he had tranſmitted a map to the duke de Choiſeul, on which was traced out, in three different colours, the exact ſhares on which the three powers intended to ſeize, and that too, nearly according to the proportions that afterwards took place. The miniſter, however, treated his conjectures as chimerical.

He did more. By means of the count de Mahoni, ambaſſadour from Spain, he cauſed a memorial to be preſented to the empreſs † under the name of a Pole, with a view to prove to this ſovereign, that it was inconſiſtent with her real intereſts to extend her poſſeſſions beyond the natural and impenetrable limits of the Carpathian mountains; that an invaſion of Poland, an open country, and entirely deſtitute of fortified places, muſt involve her in continual wars with Ruſſia and Pruſſia; and that it would be better,

* Afterwards the emperour Joſeph II.—*Tranſ.*

† Maria Thereſa.—*Tranſ.*

and at the ſame time far more glorious and juſt, to prevent the uſurpations of the two neighbouring powers, by aſſiſting the unfortunate Poles, and taking advantage for this purpoſe of the time when Ruſſia was engaged in a war with the Turks.

But had the court of Vienna, which at that period carefully avoided every thing that might lead to hoſtilities, adhered to theſe conſiderations, eſſentially true, the miniſterial revolution at Verſailles would not have left the empreſs at liberty to have refuſed her aſſent to the partition of Poland. This, indeed, could not have been prevented without plunging into a war; that it would have been impoſſible for her to have ſupported without aſſiſtance, more eſpecially as no dependence could be had on any aid from France.

One of the means employed by the faction, of which the Dubarry was only the inſtrument, to ruin the duke de Choiſeul, had been to perſuade Louis XV, that, after having enjoyed the glory of being victorious, it would be highly honourable for him to become a pacific king, and that the confidence of the ſurrounding courts would render his majeſty the arbiter of the quarrels, and of the deſtiny of all Europe. Louis, in conſequence of his ſecret correſpondence,

dence, fancied himſelf a great politician; Dumouriez therefore was well perſuaded, that far from approving of his plan, which did not correſpond with this ſyſtem of tranquillity, it would be very ill reliſhed by that monarch. Three letters which he received from Favier, Mr. Chauvelin, and the abbé de la Ville, at the ſame time, tended to demonſtrate that he was not miſtaken; without aſſigning any reaſon, they all adviſed him to contract his plans, and to wait for freſh inſtructions, which, conſidering the ſtate of affairs, was become extremely difficult. He, however, determined to reſtrict himſelf at leaſt as to the employment of the money he had in his poſſeſſion, and alſo reſpecting every act on his part as an agent of France; but he at the ſame time reſolved to continue to diſplay the ſame zeal as formerly in regard to all matters which might only perſonally involve himſelf or the Poles.

Never did the cabinet of Verſailles diſcover ſuch a degree of perfidy before. Until now, when it altered its ſyſtem, it had only deceived the powers with which it might be in treaty. On the preſent occaſion the duke d'Aiguillon, who had become miniſter for foreign affairs, endeavoured alſo to hoodwink the envoy of France,

becauſe he wiſhed to ruin him by means of his own plan, which he himſelf had rendered abortive. He alſo intended, by ſacrificing the agent, to render the choice of the ex-miniſter and his whole political ſyſtem ridiculous.

The duke alſo wrote a friendly letter to the confederation, which was for a little time his dupe. He alſo tranſmitted another full of eulogiums to Dumouriez, who very fortunately had been provided with the counter-poiſon before its arrival; he aſſured him that the late change in the miniſtry had not produced any alteration in the ſyſtem adopted relative to Poland; and he exhorted him to continue his efforts. But he at the ſame time removed to Venice the baron de Zuckmantel, a lieutenant-general, celebrated for his defence of Ziegenhayn during the ſeven years war, who was the friend of Dumouriez, and miniſter from France at the court of Dreſden, where he had preſſed the levying of the Saxo-Courland contingent. He did not appoint any perſon as his ſucceſſor, and he alſo took meaſures to prevent the contingent from being ſent. He cauſed the council of war at Vienna to be privately informed of a purchaſe made by the confederates of thirteen thouſand muſkets belonging to the Hungarians,

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on the faith of which they had already advanced a thouſand ducats; in conſequence of this the arms were ſtopped, and the money loſt. He likewiſe prohibited the count de Follard from fulfilling the contract relative to the twenty-two thouſand Bavarian ſtands of arms, and thus deprived the Poles of a precious, and, as they imagined, a certain reſource.

Zuckmantel and Follard themſelves informed Dumouriez of theſe circumſtances, and teſtified their ſorrow at what had happened. Mr. Durand behaved to him with a noble frankneſs; not daring to write on ſo delicate a ſubject, he begged him to ſpend three days with him at Vienna. On his arrival there on the 20th of January, this miniſter, who was an honeſt man, adviſed him to be upon his guard, and to reſign all his extenſive projects, as they were no longer countenanced by circumſtances; to convince him of this, he produced the diſpatches of the duke d'Aguillon, who treated them as chimerical, and commanded him to reſtrain their execution.

On his return to Eperiès he perceived the neceſſity of altering his plan; but being as yet too young to have acquired a profound knowledge of mankind, he deemed it his duty to en-

deavour to enlighten the miniſter. He accordingly drew up a ſhort analyſis, entitled "Summary of the Affairs of Poland," and was imprudent enough to addreſs this to Linguet, whom he knew while the advocate of the duke d'Aiguillon, and believed to be ſtill connected with him. On this account he imagined himſelf certain that it would fall into proper hands, and be ſupported by the arguments of Linguet; he alſo knew, that it would not be ſeen by Gerard. In this memorial, he confined himſelf to the affairs of Poland, but he demonſtrated that in following the plan already approved of and agreed upon, the confederates would not only be ſaved, but be enabled to act a grand and national part, and that France would neither be involved, nor even expoſed to much expenſe. He concluded with beſeeching the duke to appoint a ſucceſſor to him if he ſhould be diſpoſed to alter his intentions, becauſe he could not alter his conduct without being taxed with perfidy, an accuſation which would revert upon the miniſter himſelf.

Linguet faithfully delivered the diſpatch; but had it even been more convincing, the mode by which it was tranſmitted would have

have deprived it of all manner of credit. The miniſter anſwered only the laſt paragraph; he aſſured him that he ſerved the king too well to be permitted to retire, more eſpecially as he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of the confederates.

As in this caſe he did not wiſh to add to his other embarraſſments by any chicanery relative to money matters, he requeſted that a commiſſary at war might be appointed to ſuperintend the expenditure; but this alſo was refuſed.

It appeared extremely cruel to abandon theſe poor confederates, who ſeemed to have actually changed their characters, to place an entire confidence in Dumouriez. However, they were at this very moment exceedingly diſcontented with him, becauſe they knew that he had received money, yet refuſed to give them any, as he was reſolved to employ the ſums entruſted to his care in the purchaſe of arms and ammunition. He had denied twenty-four thouſand livres to the count de Pac, which he was mean enough to demand for himſelf, and alſo twelve thouſand for the poor marſhals, to whom their voluptuous brethren were cruel enough to refuſe clothes. He however received

ceived orders from Mr. Durand to pay theſe thirty-ſix thouſand livres, which he complied with, but not without great regret, as he did not deem this a proper mode of employing the ſubſidy. The old penſioners eſpecially proteſted againſt his conduct, and hoped ſoon to be able to re-eſtabliſh their claims by means of the credit of Gerard, who, in conſequence of the ignorance and intrigues of the duke d' Aiguillon, was in fact the real miniſter of foreign affairs.

He now became ſick of Eperiès, and a circumſtance ſoon occurred, that induced him to leave that place with an intention never to enter it more. Pulawſki had gone to ſpend a few days there, during the month of February. He was a young chief, very brave and enterpriſing, but fond of independence, fickle in his projects, incapable of attaching himſelf to any certain rule or plan, and inflated with ſome ſlight ſucceſſes which his countrymen, who are much given to exaggeration, extolled as ſuperior to the glorious deeds of John Sobieſki. He had at firſt oppoſed the idea of a regular warfare, becauſe being but an obſcure gentleman, who had elevated himſelf to the rank of commander by his ſucceſsful audacity,

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and become almoſt the proprietor of a little army, he dreaded leſt, in conſequence of the adoption of the new ſyſtem, he ſhould be obliged to reſign his pretenſions, and ſubmit either to the orders of the regimental-general, prince de Sapieha, a weak man, whom he deſpiſed, or thoſe of his perſonal enemy, the count Potocki. Dumouriez had however found means to ſatisfy him on this head, by promiſing to reſerve a more glorious command for him, which ſhould be independent, and worthy of his courage; that of Podolia. He thus kept him in good humour, and alſo got out of his hands the important town of Czenſtochow, which by his removal fell under the immediate authority of the confederation.

Zaremba alſo, to whom he had ſent an intelligent officer to explain the changes which he wiſhed to introduce, heartily appeared to adopt them; he had tranſmitted teſtimonies of ſubmiſſion to the confederation, and promiſed the agent of France, that he would faithfully execute that part of the plan of the campaign which might be confided to his direction. As to Walewſki and Miaczinſki, they entered into all his ſchemes; they were well pleaſed with

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the increaſe of their little bodies of troops, and alſo flattered with the idea of acting an important part in the operations of the regular army.

The confederates were perfectly ſure of count Oginſki, and the ſole uneaſineſs experienced on his account aroſe from the fear of his declaring himſelf with too much precipitation, and thus being ſubdued before the grand combined movement was carried into execution in every place at one and the ſame time. All the military leaders being jealous of each other, they were deſirous of having a foreign commander to preſide over them; and as Dumouriez, who was then no more than a ſimple colonel, did not aſpire to ſo high a ſtation, he had cauſed it to be inſinuated during the winter, that they ought to unite their ſuffrages in favour of prince Charles of Saxony, and he had ſucceeded in obtaining their almoſt unanimous aſſent.

But an army was yet to be formed, and the ſpring was faſt approaching. The confederation received from time to time ſome aſſiſtance in money, but it did not amount to much, and was inſtantly diſſipated by the diſhoneſty or prodigality of the leaders. Far

from ſoliciting an augmentation of the ſmall ſubſidy granted by France, Dumouriez, with a view to his own ſecurity, became more avaricious of it than ever. Funds were therefore ſtill wanting, in order to levy the army.

Five or ſix thouſand men, commanded by Miaczinſki and Walewſki, lined the mountains from Rabka to Biala, in front of Bilitz, the frontier of the duchy of Teſchen; they were crowded together in Biala, Wlogidowice, Kente, Sucha, and ſome other ſmall towns. To enrol the peaſants, it was neceſſary to extend themſelves into the plain watered by the Viſtula. Two great conſiderations rendered this movement neceſſary:

1. To get poſſeſſion of a rich and fertile country, for the purpoſe of feeding five or ſix thouſand horſes, which ſuffered greatly among thoſe barren mountains; to make a ſpeedy levy of infantry by means of a military conſcription; and to open through Zator, Oſwiecim, and Bobrecq, a communication with Great Poland;

And 2. To procure poſſeſſion of conſiderable and certain funds, by getting poſſeſſion of the rich ſalt works of Bochnia and Williſka.

He had meditated on this important plan during

during the whole winter, and deemed it highly expedient to carry it into execution; but he found it of ſo much conſequence, and ſo very deciſive in reſpect to the future conduct of the war, that he did not imagine any one of the chiefs capable of executing it: they themſelves were of the ſame opinion, and had agreed, that he ſhould undertake to carry it into effect. In conſequence of this, he had promiſed to repair to the army in the beginning of March, and undertook, without being the oſtenſible commander, to direct its operations. The better to enſure obedience, he was to carry four members of the council of war along with him, on purpoſe to ſign ſuch orders as he might iſſue.

Having thus pledged his word, he did not think that he ought to be prevented from keeping it by the miniſterial revolution that had occurred in France. He took the precaution, however, to intimate his intentions to the duke d'Aiguillon, and endeavoured to make him perceive the importance of the meaſure. He aſſured him that it would be deciſive, for if it ſhould fail, the confederation not having acquired any military conſiſtency, its political exiſtence could not aſſume ſo formidable an aſpect, as that its intereſts ſhould be conſidered

in the negotiations that were to terminate this war. In that caſe, France, which had not openly interfered, as ſhe had never publicly recognized the confederation, might withdraw herſelf by degrees, permit the guaranty to ſlumber, and only employ her mediation in obtaining terms for thoſe members in behalf of whom ſhe ſhould intereſt herſelf: that, on the other hand, if the Poles ſucceeded, the diverſion occaſioned by this circumſtance would be very uſeful in conſequence of the embarraſſment which it would naturally occaſion to the Ruſſians, and tend greatly to diminiſh the danger of the Turks, who began to evince ſymptoms of feebleneſs in Moldavia. He concluded his diſpatch, by conjuring the miniſter to accept of his reſignation, and nominate a political and military ſucceſſor, to whom he might reſign the intire management of affairs.

After adopting this meaſure, which was much approved of by Mr. Durand, he ſet off early in the month of April, on purpoſe to enter Poland, accompanied by ſeven or eight French officers, and a dozen of domeſtics armed and clad as huſſars. He gave directions for tranſmitting his money to him by the way of Bilitz, and he left one of his couſins, called Chateau-

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neuf, with the confederation. This was a young man of great abilities, whom he had adopted as his ſon, who entertained the ſentiments of one for him, and whom he converted into a firm friend. He was then only eighteen years of age, and had juſt left college; his couſin obtained for him a ſub-lieutenancy of dragoons in the regiment of Cuſtine, from the duke de Choiſeul, and alſo employed him as his ſecretary. Replete with fidelity and prudence, endowed with the ſpirit of moderation, mild and gentle in his manners, Chateauneuf acquired the entire confidence of the Poles, and had thus fitted himſelf for ſupplying his place. He received in the courſe of that year a *brevet* as captain of infantry; but not wiſhing to remain with the confederates after the departure of his couſin, and although brave, yet deteſting, from philoſophical motives, the profeſſion of arms, he entered into the civil department on his return to France; and after having acted as a conſul, at laſt became for a ſhort time reſident at Geneva, a ſituation which he did not chooſe to retain under the reign of anarchy. Perhaps this good and excellent man languiſhes at this very moment in the dungeons of

of the Jacobins, with the reſt of the family of general Dumouriez!

General Suwarow occupied all the palatinate of Cracow, from Bobrecq to Nepolmuce, along the Donayecz, with ſix or ſeven thouſand men. This river, which runs but a few leagues, has its ſource a little above Nowilarg, and joins the Viſtula oppoſite Nowe-Miaſto. In ſummer it is very ſhallow, and is then paſſable every where. During the preſent ſeaſon it was very deep, on account of the melting of the ſnow and the great rains; but as its fall was conſiderable, it ſoon emptied itſelf. He kept a garriſon conſiſting of one thouſand men in Cracow, under the command of colonel Obſolewitz, and two regiments of cuiraſſiers were quartered in the town of Scavina, two leagues in front of that place; the reſt of his cavalry and infantry were cantoned at Zator, Oſwiecim, and Bobrecq. A battalion of 500 grenadiers was alſo lodged in barracks below Calvary, through which is the road from Landſcron to Cracow. Another *corps* of the ſame kind occupied a poſition oppoſite Kenté, which was in poſſeſſion of the confederates. The coſſacks, dragoons, and ſome ſmall intermediate poſts filled with infantry,

protected the communication between these ſeveral quarters, which forming a chain of conſiderable length, completely blocked up the Poles. The whole extended eighteen leagues in length, along the frontiers of the duchy of Teſchen as far as the Donayecz, and occupied two, three, four, and ſometimes ſix leagues in breadth of this rich and fertile plain.

The diſpoſition made by Dumouriez proved very ſucceſsful. He ſent orders to Zaremba, who executed them with great punctuality, to leave Poſen, where he then was, to march through Rawa, and to be at Radom by the end of April, thus menacing both Warſaw and Cracow. Pulawſki was enjoined to ſet out from Czenſtochow with ten pieces of cannon, three hundred infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, and to march through Severin and Lipowice, in order to force the paſſage of the Viſtula at Bobrecq at the ſame time: while Walewſki, leaving Biala, with two pieces of cannon, four hundred infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry, ſhould alſo march towards Bobrecq. A regiment of three hundred huſſars under the command of colonel Schuetz, a very excellent officer, who has ſince entered into the ſervice of Pruſſia, filing off near Kenté, through a narrow

paſſage badly guarded by the Coſſacks, was to maſk Oſwiecim; while Miaczinſki, puſhing on from Landſcron with two pieces of cannon, three hundred infantry, and four hundred cavalry, was to force the paſſage of Calvary, and then to march ſtraight againſt the cantonment of Scavina.

There was the utmoſt neceſſity for ſecrecy, rapidity, and preciſion, in this grand movement; it failed however in none of theſe. It was alſo requiſite to deceive and fatigue the enemy, and in this too they proved ſucceſsful. The Ruſſian ſoldiers were excellent, but they had very few good officers to command them, their principal leaders excepted, and the beſt had not been ſelected during the preſent war againſt the Poles, whom they deſpiſed.

Dumouriez cauſed the peaſants to be aſſembled through an extent of four leagues, placed them at all the openings leading from the plain, cauſed fires to be lighted every night, and falſe alarms to be given, by means of ſmall detachments, which ſeemed every where diſpoſed to penetrate into the flat country. At firſt the Ruſſians were very vigilant, their cavalry were kept in readineſs, their infantry paſſed the night under arms, and they themſelves entered the

defiles with an intention to anticipate the confederates, who always fled at their approach. In ſhort, they became fatigued with theſe nightly watches.

He had learned from the Jews, who are the beſt ſpies in Poland, that on the evening of the 29th of April there was to be a grand ball at Cracow, and he ſuſpected that all the principal officers would be preſent at it, for the Ruſſians during the laſt three or four nights were no longer alarmed at theſe nocturnal movements. It was that very evening that was pitched upon by him, on purpoſe to attack the paſs which happened to be beſt guarded. Nearly all his cavalry had marched along under the very ſtoccade occupied by the grenadiers, when the ſentinels a little before the break of day gave the alarm. The troops inſtantly ſallied forth, but ſeeing an extenſive column, which the obſcurity tended to render ſtill more formidable, they fired a few random ſhot, evacuated the poſt through an opening in the rear, fled, and took refuge at Zator, whence they fell back once more to the abbey of Tiniec, where they croſſed the Viſtula.

The advanced guard of the cavalry in the mean time ſet off at full gallop for Scavina,

and

and entered that place with loud cries, which gave notice to the Ruſſian horſe of their danger; they accordingly ſaved themſelves, about a hundred men, and nearly double that number of horſes, excepted, who were either taken or cut in pieces. In ſhort, at nine o'clock in the morning the whole plain was in poſſeſſion of the confederates, and not a ſingle Ruſſian remained on the right hand ſide of the Viſtula. The two attacks made by Pulawſki and Walewſki alſo proved ſucceſsful; or, more properly ſpeaking, no attack at all took place, for it appeared as if the Ruſſians only waited for an opportunity of fleeing in all directions.

Towards noon Dumouriez cauſed an aſſault to be made on the bridge of Cracow, while he ordered a little redoubt to be conſtructed on a height called Kremionki, near the toll-houſe. On the ſame day he ſent off a ſtrong detachment for Nepolmuce. On the next morning he viſited the borders of the river, and finding the abbey of Tiniec, about a league above Cracow, admirably ſituated, he cauſed it to be fortified, and garriſoned it with four hundred infantry, and ſix pieces of cannon. He then viſited the ſalt-pits. He at the ſame time

ordered the caſtle of Bobrecq to be prepared for the purpoſe, and ſtationed two hundred foot and four pieces of cannon there; he alſo placed one hundred more in the redoubt of Kremionki. Thus, in the ſpace of a few days, he had poſted his infantry in five ſtrong places, ſufficiently provided with artillery to ſtop the progreſs of the Ruſſians. Theſe were Landſcron, Tyniec, Wlodigowice, Oſwiecim, and Bobrecq. He entruſted Pulawſki with the defence of the Donayeſe, Miaczinſki with the ſalt mines of Landſcron, and Walewſki with thoſe of Oſwiecim and Bobrecq, and he himſelf repaired to Biala with the counſellors of war, to levy more infantry.

But the ſucceſs of the Poles had actually affected their brains. They ſeemed as if they had already reconquered all Poland. They plundered the inhabitants, and committed a thouſand exceſſes. They maltreated the great lords, ſuch as Wielopoloſki, the count Dunin, and others. They beat the new levied peaſants, and ſurveyed the foreign infantry with ſcorn. The leaders too began to quarrel with each other. Inſtead of permitting two members of the council of finances to take upon them the adminiſtration of the ſalt mines, the chiefs ſeized the

the booty they found there, and ſold it at a low price to the Sileſian jews, on purpoſe to divide the plunder. They commanded the commiſſioners of the ſalt works to increaſe the quantity uſually produced, and ſold ſeveral thouſand tons in advance. Their mode of making war, and of defending poſts, was of a piece with the reſt of their conduct. The *Towaricz* would not mount guard when they were ordered; they ſtationed peaſants along the banks of the river, while they themſelves remained in the houſes drinking and gambling, with their horſes unſaddled. Their officers in the mean time retired to the neighbouring caſtles, and were occupied in balls, feſtivals, and gaming.

Dumouriez concluded that with ſuch a conduct their ſucceſs could not be laſting, and that they would pay dear for their temerity. He was not ſatisfied with any of them but Walewſki, who alone kept his troops in ſome degree of order. He now convoked the three leaders at Biala. It was their misfortunes that had formerly rendered them compliant; their ſucceſs had induced them to reſume all their former pride. He propoſed to them to diſmount a thouſand nobles, who were to ſerve on foot, each of them commanding ten men,

under the name of *Decurions*. They rejected this advice with indignation, and would have even inſulted the envoy of France, had he not ſhewn himſelf ſtill more haughty than themſelves. The heads of the counſellors of war had become as light as thoſe of their brethren, one of them, called Wibranowſki, only excepted, who was always prudent. They demanded money with great inſolence, and endeavoured to force Dumouriez to remove the treaſure from Bilitz to Biala, obſerving that it appertained to them, as the king had ſent it expreſsly for their uſe. He refuſed however to comply with this demand, and told them plainly, that they neither deſerved the money nor the protection of France. Two hundred infantry, and a ſcore of French officers who were along with him at Biala, proved ſufficient to keep them in order.

In the mean time, the intelligence received from Eperiés was far from being conſolatory: immediately after his departure diſcord had introduced itſelf into the confederation, which, forgetting its dignity, had come to blows. The Imperial officers were obliged to interfere, and the marſhals were committed to priſon. On the other hand, ſome evil minded perſons

inſinuated to them, that France had changed her ſyſtem, that ſhe was deceiving, and actually about to abandon them. Many deſerted, ſome retired to other places, and many endeavoured to make their peace. In fine, a greater confuſion enſued than that out of which he had extricated them, and to crown all, it became irremediable. It was then that Pac and Bohucz imagined that their ills, if not cured, might at leaſt be diminiſhed by changing their place of abode: they accordingly beſought Mr. Durand, and enjoined general Sloinſki to ſolicit the court of Vienna to grant permiſſion to the confederation to aſſemble at Bilitz, whence they had but a rivulet to croſs, in order to publiſh their proceedings within their own territory at Biala, a place protected both by fortified poſts, and by the army: this was very reaſonable. They obtained leave; but when they were about to depart, their numerous creditors would not permit them. They then took it into their heads, that the ſubſidy ought to be expended in the payment of their private debts. They accordingly wrote to Mr. Durand on this ſubject, who referred the matter to Dumouriez, and he tranſmitted them a direct refuſal. On this they complained to the

duke

duke d'Aiguillon; the military commanders had already done the ſame. Every body reprobated the rigour of the envoy, who, on his part, ſent home a circumſtantial account of all theſe matters to the miniſter, in two or three different diſpatches, conſtantly demanding at the ſame time to be relieved from his charge, and announcing, that whether a ſucceſſor was appointed or not, he would take his departure on the firſt of September, becauſe the confederation would about that time be drawing to a cloſe. The duke d'Aiguillon found that all was right, merely becauſe every thing became daily worſe, and exhorted the envoy to patience; he announced however, that he would communicate his reiterated offers of reſignation to the king.

The confederation having begged ſome alms from Saxony, and iſſued promiſſory notes, was at length enabled to ſet off for Bilitz, very much offended at Dumouriez, who was equally angry on his part; nay, he reproached it in all his letters, with its ſcandalous conduct. As to the military leaders, he uſed ſtill leſs ceremony with them. Having learned that Pulawſki had boaſted that he would ſeize and carry him to Czenſtochow, and oblige him to ſupply him with

with money by force, he ſaid to him while ſitting in council: "Do not preſume, Pulawſki, to make ſuch an attempt, for if you do, I will blow out your brains at the head of your *Towaricz*."

They were afraid of him, becauſe he had cauſed three *Towaricz* to be condemned to death, who, after raviſhing a woman, had cut off her arm. Having learned that the army of Pulawſki, of which they formed part, had ſworn not to ſuffer the ſentence to be executed, he had drawn them up in three lines, and cloſing the ſquare with two hundred infantry and two cannon loaded with grape ſhot, at the head of which he himſelf was placed, having Pulawſki and Miaczinſki on each ſide of him by way of hoſtages, he cauſed the moſt culpable, called Bonikorſki, to be put to death, and demanded pardon for the other two, in the name of the king of France. This inſtance of intrepidity had rendered him terrible to them, but he was ſtill more hated than feared. He however cared but little for this, being reſolved to take his leave of them in a very ſhort time, if he did not ſucceed in rendering them obedient, provided they ſhould be able to form an army, an event of which he now deſpaired.

The whole month of March and one half

of

of June were consumed in these disputes; his spies then brought him intelligence that Suwarow expected a reinforcement, which was marching from Sendomir towards the Donayecz, and that he himself was preparing to make a grand movement. On this he sent Pulawski towards the Donayecz, and Miaczinski to Scavina, which was the central point where they were to assemble from all the different quarters. On the 18th he received a letter from Pulawski, intimating that this was a false alarm; that there was not a single Russian on the right bank of the Vistula, towards the Donayecz; and that the latter river was still very deep, and even impassable. He nevertheless distrusted this report, as he was well acquainted with the negligence of the Poles, and had received a very different account relative to both of these subjects.

He therefore dispatched Walewski with four hundred cavalry to Tyniec, and issued orders to colonel Schuetz, who, as well as his regiment of hussars, was at Sucha, to advance to Scavina. He was busied during that and the succeeding day in preparing a convoy of artillery, and making the necessary dispositions to rejoin the troops. On the 20th he slept at the house of the

the count de Dunin at Zator, and he received intelligence from Miaczinſki, in the courſe of the ſame night, that the Donayecz had been abandoned, that he did not know what had become of Pulawſki, who had carried away more than ſix thouſand men with him; that he had taken poſt on the high ground at Cracow, near to Kremionki, with five hundred horſe and that Suwarow was employed in reconſtructing the bridge.

Dumouriez inſtantly got on horſeback, accompanied only by his French eſcort, and rode ſtraight to Scavina, where he found the enemy. Having proceeded towards Kremionki, he perceived Suwarow, who had croſſed the Viſtula. He found a company of *Towaricz* in a neighbouring village, with their horſes unſaddled, they themſelves being employed in drinking; the Ruſſians were not at that moment above a quarter a mile from them. He carried them along with him, and the peaſants having told him that they had obſerved a body of troops marching on the ſide of Calvary, he went thither; this proved to be the united parties under Miaczinſki and Schuetz, who had effected a junction.

An officer at length arrived from Pulawſki with

with a letter informing him, that on perceiving the enemy had croſſed the Donayecz, he had thought proper to gain the defiles on purpoſe to fall on their rear. He immediately ſent this officer back again with a letter conjuring him to return; he alſo conveyed two other meſſages to him. Not content with this, he told Miaczinſki to keep poſſeſſion of the paſſes, and to retreat gently towards Landſcron, where he would rejoin him. He then remounted his horſe, and flew after Pulawſki. When he had proceeded five leagues he received an inſolent letter from that chief, in which he told him that he would not receive any orders from a foreigner; that he was determined to carry on the war after his own manner; and that if he intended to follow him, he muſt proceed to Zamoſc or Lepolo, whither he was about to repair. This letter was dated at Rabku, ten leagues from Landſcron.

Having no longer any hope of being able either to bring him back or to prevail on him to liſten to his advice, he gave up the purſuit, and ſoon after found that colonel Schuetz had returned quietly to his quarters at Sucha; he at the ſame time received a note from Miaczinſki, ſtating that he was entirely abandoned, as there did not then remain

remain two hundred horſe with him: on the departure of Pulawſki, Miaczinſki ought ſtill to have had more than five hundred cavalry.

Walewſki diſplayed great ability in his *manœuvres*, for on learning the defection of Pulawſki, and the flight of the other troops, he had enticed Suwarow towards Tyniec. This general had tried to carry that place on the 20th; after having twice taken and loſt a redoubt, he left two hundred dead behind him, and advanced haſtily againſt Calvary. On the ſame day, Dumouriez having diſpatched Schuetz to rejoin Miaczinſki, along with ſome other *corps* collected by him for that purpoſe, was forced to ſpend ſeveral hours at Sucha, to refreſh his horſes, they having travelled more than ſixty leagues in three days. He arrived at Landſcron on the 22d of June, at ſeven o'clock in the morning.

The caſtle of Landſcron on one ſide terminates a hill ſomewhat leſs than a mile in length, and about five hundred paces in breadth. The town is ſituated below the caſtle, and a garriſon of ſix hundred infantry, ſupported by thirty pieces of cannon, was then ſtationed in them. Behind this eminence is a pretty gentle ſlope, with a country interſperſed with

with woods, leading to Sucha. In front, and on the right flank, are two impenetrable acclivities, ſtudded with clumps of fir trees. Dumouriez here inſpected the army, which he found was reduced to a thouſand cavalry. He had along with him two hundred *chaſſeurs* commanded by French officers; he threw a hundred of theſe into a wood of pines, a little before his front, and a hundred more into a ſimilar wood on his right, where he alſo placed two pieces of cannon; his left flank was ſupported by Landſcron. His field of battle overlooked an oppoſite riſing ground, while the cannon of the caſtle at the ſame time ſcoured it; thoſe of the Ruſſians, which were of an inferiour caliber, were not brought nearer than within two hundred paces of the Poliſh line.

Suwarow made a movement which expoſed him to be beaten. He had about three thouſand horſe, and two thouſand five hundred infantry along with him. Leaving his infantry on the height, he cauſed his horſe to deſcend into the ravine, on purpoſe to clamber up afterwards to the foreſt of fir trees. Dumouriez diſpatched a meſſenger to tell his *chaſſeurs* to conceal themſelves in the wood in order to let the cavalry paſs, and not to fire a ſhot, as the enemy's

enemy's horſe would be diſperſed and broken in their aſcent. He announced to the Poles that they would be victorious, for whenever the cavalry arrived at the top of the eminence they had only to charge them inſtantly, without allowing them time to form. They promiſed to perform prodigies.

No ſooner however had two very fine Ruſſian regiments, thoſe of St. Peterſburg and Aſtracan, made their appearance, than they all diſperſed. He wiſhed to charge at the head of the Lithuanians of Orſewſko with the prince Sapieha, but theſe cowards betook themſelves to flight, killed Sapieha, a young and courageous prince, with their own hands; Orſewſko and ſeveral other brave men were alſo put to death by them. He then ran to the huſſars of Schuetz, who, inſtead of uſing their ſabres, diſcharged their carabines and fled. The Ruſſians, who were themſelves aſtoniſhed at their own ſucceſs, did not advance, but took this opportunity to form their line. Miaczinſki, now become furious, rallied ſome brave *Towaricz*, threw himſelf into the midſt of the Ruſſians, was diſmounted, wounded, and taken priſoner. Walewſky, whoſe *corps* formed the left wing, retired in good order behind Landſcron. All

the reſt ran away. The Coſſacks purſued, for more than half a league, this body of cavalry, which had not deſtroyed four of the Ruſſians, while it loſt three hundred in killed, wounded, and priſoners.

Left on the field of battle with his little French ſquadron, Dumouriez was careful not to throw himſelf among the fugitives; he retired by a road leading through the wood, without being ſo much as followed, and arrived at Sucha at noon; he there found the regiment of Schuetz huſſars, which had ſuffered but very little. In the mean time the French *chaſſeurs* had taken a circuit along the woods, and thrown themſelves into Landſcron, which now began to open a briſk fire on the enemy's cavalry, who were ſoon obliged to abandon this very dangerous field of battle, carrying along with them their priſoners and the two pieces of cannon, which, after having fired ſome ſhot at too great a diſtance to produce any effect, were abandoned, the officer not having even ſenſe enough to throw them into the ravine.

This is what the Ruſſians and Poles were then pleaſed to call the battle of Landſcron; it laſted about half an hour, and the former did not loſe any of their men except in the retreat,

by

by means of the cannon of Landſcron, and on the ſucceeding day, when they endeavoured to inſult that place, which was now provided with a garriſon of eight hundred infantry, and four or five hundred cavalry. Walewſki had the audacity to purſue them on their retiring, and even to deſcend into the plain along with them. Suwarow then ſat down once more before Tyniec, which he however was not able to take; but Oſwiecim and Bobrecq were both evacuated.

Walewſki retreated to Biala, which Branicki now maſked with twelve hundred of that very cavalry of the crown, which would have joined the confederates, had they but proved victorious. General Stampa, who commanded the Auſtrian line, cauſed it to be intimated to the Ruſſians not to attack Biala, which they could not do without injuring the Auſtrian town, ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the river.

Dumouriez thus beheld all his hopes blaſted by the defection of Pulawſki, who went as far as Leopol to be beaten, endeavoured to ſurpriſe Zamoſc, which would not open its gates to him, then returned by the ſame road he had ſet out, paſſed along the mountains through Kenté and Bohucq, and came back to

Czenſtochow, having traverſed a hundred and fifty leagues of territory, and being at length both abaſhed, and repentant: but it was too late. Dumouriez had now loſt the three chiefs on whom he relied moſt: Sapieha and Orzewſko, who were killed, and Miaczinſki, who was made priſoner. The troops belonging to the laſt of theſe were diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that there did not remain above five or ſix hundred, and theſe were in bad order, and poorly commanded. There were then no more, in all Little Poland, than about two thouſand infantry, diſtributed in three places, and ſix or ſeven hundred more ſtationed in Biala and Czenſtochow, to make head againſt the Ruſſians. The body under Zaremba remained ſtill entire, but he was too cunning, and indeed too prudent, to hazard any thing with ſuch companions. Walewſki, including the remnant of Miaczinſki's troops, had not more than two thouſand horſe. The ſalt mines were entirely loſt, and that too, without any advantage having been reaped from them; and the contingent of Courland, and the infantry of the palatinate of Cracow were become mere chimeras. So far was the money which he had at Bilitz from being ſufficient to pay, and

ſeed the garriſons, that three times as much would have been abſolutely neceſſary for that purpoſe. In addition to this, he was enraged at the conduct of the Poles, both political and military.

Having at length come to the reſolution of abandoning every thing, he repaired to the houſe of the neareſt inſurgent, which happened to be at a place called Fritzka, whither general Emerick Eſterhaſy, with whom he was intimate, and ſeveral other Hungarian nobles, went to ſee him. Thence he tranſmitted an account of every thing to the miniſter, referring him at the ſame time to what he had predicted in the preceding diſpatches, eſpecially thoſe written on his ſetting out for the army.

On his departure from Eperiés, he had announced in a full aſſembly of the confederation, that he was about to try whether he could not render their military operations more vigorous and conſiſtent; he had aſſured them at the ſame time under the ſanction of an oath, that, provided he were ſeconded, he would ſacrifice himſelf for their intereſts, as if he were their own countryman; but that if the leaders and their followers conducted themſelves in the ſame manner as hitherto, and fruſtrat-

ted his good intentions, he would entirely abandon them to themſelves. Not only the troops, but the chiefs and the counſellors of war themſelves, who were inſtructed to co-operate with him, had actually thwarted all his plans.

Accordingly, he now wrote to the confederation, that it had only to remember the oath he had taken; that, faithful to his promiſe, he conſidered himſelf as henceforth diſengaged from the care of ſuperintending their military operations; that he waited in the country for letters of recal, as he ſtood in need of repoſe; and that he was perſuaded his ſucceſſor, whoſe arrival might be ſoon expected, would aſſuredly be more complaiſant and agreeable to them than himſelf. He accordingly went and paid a viſit to count Potocki, ſtaroſt of Halicz, with whom he was intimate, and at whoſe houſe he waited the miniſter's final orders. The confederation, now reduced to a ſtate of conſternation, ſent ſeveral deputations to him. They prevailed upon Pulawſki to aſk him pardon, both perſonally and in writing, and alſo to put himſelf under his command; he then very eaſily proved to them that he never pretended to iſſue any direct orders, and that he had always cauſed his

his opinions to be clothed with the ſanction of the council; he told Pulawſki and the other deputies, that he acknowledged himſelf in the wrong, to endeavour to enforce a ſyſtem to which they could not be brought to ſubſcribe, and that, as he was utterly ignorant of their mode of warfare, he would no longer intermeddle with it.

In the mean time he wrote to the confederation, and adviſed them not to be diſcouraged, as they were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, and a ſmall body of infantry, which it was their buſineſs to augment; that, excluſive of the army of Lithuania, they might ſtill reckon more than fifteen thouſand good cavalry, and were therefore in a better condition than on his arrival among them; that the Ruſſians not having received any reinforcement, and not being in a ſtate to retake their fortified places, if they adopted proper meaſures, they might by little and little regain the whole country, or at leaſt aſſume ſuch a formidable poſture, as to be able to negotiate.

The counts Pac and Bohucz ſoon after came to ſee him. To theſe he unboſomed himſelf as a friend, and confeſſed that their ſituation was deſperate. Bohucz acknowledged

it. "Apply," ſaid he, "to the duke d'Aiguillon and Mr. Durand, not to ſupport you, for that is impoſſible, but to make your peace."

At length he complied with their entreaties, and rejoined the confederation, not to continue his miſſion, for he perſiſted in refuſing them both money and advice, but to prevent the court of Warſaw from enjoying the triumph of this rupture. In truth, their affairs were in a moſt horrible ſituation, for in the courſe of this campaign the Turks were driven from Moldavia, and were ſoon after forced to conclude a peace.

He was much afflicted at this unhappy turn, and he informed his friend madame de Mniſzeck, that his heart was intirely conſumed by chagrin. He pitied the unhappy Poles notwithſtanding their exceſſive faults, and this commiſeration was ſo much the more juſt, as the duke d'Aiguillon completed their diſgrace by a refinement in perfidy and baſeneſs, ſo much the more horrible, as it was unattended with any uſeful purpoſe.

From the very commencement of his miſſion, Dumouriez had conſtantly intimated, that he was ſure of count Oginſki, who could bring over a body of troops belonging to the army

army of Lithuania, amounting to at leaſt five or ſix thouſand men, without reckoning a large portion of the nobility of that duchy. The count Wielhorſki, his brother in law, gave ſimilar aſſurances at Paris. But Dumouriez at the ſame time repreſented, that the example of what had happened to prince Radzivil, who had been deprived, almoſt without a ſhot, of his ſtrong holds in Lithuania; prince Daſchkoff, at the head of a ſmall number of Ruſſian troops, having beſieged, and forced him and count Pac to capitulate, in the well fortified town of Nieſvicze, although they were double in point of number to the aſſailants; rendered every degree of circumſpection neceſſary as to the choice of the time for an inſurrection in Lithuania. That if even, which was to be hoped, count Oginſki, at the head of better diſciplined troops, ſhould be able to make a more ſucceſsful reſiſtance; yet, as he was behind the army under Weymarn, on one ſide, and as, on the other, troops might be ſent againſt him from Livonia, the Ukraine, or Muſcovy, his ruin would be inevitable, ſhould his inſurrection prove partial; and not only if it did not form part of a general plan of attack, but alſo if the troops of Great and Little Poland did not relieve him either by means of actual ſuccours, or a direct

direct junction, or aſſiſt by making a diverſion which would occupy the Ruſſians elſewhere: in fine, the premature inſurrection of count Oginſki would ſerve only to plunge him and all his partiſans into infallible ruin.

Poland had but too much ſuffered already, from the want of connection between its weak and ſeparate confederations, which had been ſubdued one after the other: he therefore had conſtantly obſerved, that the miniſter of France ought to act as a good father, in reſpect to this nation, that had thrown itſelf into his arms; that being unable to afford it a direct and formidable ſupport, he could at leaſt give it counſel in which energy and prudence might be united; that if the Poliſh confederation could not be reduced to one powerful maſs, capable of reconquering its liberty, it belonged to the paternal generoſity of the king, to ſave as many individuals as poſſible, by preventing them from ruining themſelves by an uſeleſs inſurrection; that it would be wiſer to reſerve them for another occaſion, and to wait for more favourable circumſtances; that an oppoſite conduct would evidently ſavour of Machiavelian duplicity, and by ſacrificing a whole nation would diſhonour our politics.

Theſe

Theſe prudent repreſentations had ſucceeded with the duke de Choiſeul, although he was eager for a general war; but they had no weight with the duke d'Aiguillon, although he affected an oppoſite ſyſtem; they even ſeemed to give a new edge to his duplicity. Gérard had a brother, named Renneval, who was then either conſul or reſident at Dantzick. He entruſted him to treat ſeparately with count Oginſki, on purpoſe to engage him to declare himſelf. Not content with this, d'Aiguillon ſent a French colonel, called the chevalier de Murinois, to this nobleman.

It was in vain that Dumouriez renewed his repreſentations. He cauſed the count Oginſki to be directly informed of the unneceſſary danger, to which he was about to expoſe himſelf; he even deſired Wilhorſki to endeavour to ſave his brother-in-law and Lithuania, by preventing him from liſtening to theſe perfidious inſinuations: but all was to no purpoſe. That very epoch when the miſfortunes of Poland would admit of no remedy, was preciſely fixed upon to force Oginſki to declare himſelf, which he did in the month of September. This chieftain accordingly commenced his imprudent inſurrection. Colo-

nel Albeczew, at the head of a thouſand Ruſſians, on this marched to Pinſk, where he aſſembled his adherents. Not ſo much as an action enſued; the whole aſſembly diſperſed on the approach of Albiczew, the unfortunate Oginſki was obliged to fly to Dantzick, and the laſt reſource of Poliſh liberty was thus annihilated.

After the fatal epoch of the defeat at Landſcron, the conduct of Dumouriez was in direct oppoſition to that of the miniſter, for he had reſtored their ſignatures to ſeveral of the *magnats*, adviſing them at the ſame time not to involve themſelves unneceſſarily; he had alſo adviſed the counteſs Mniſzeck, Pac, Bohucz, and ſeveral others, either to make their peace with the court of Warſaw, or to ſolicit protection at Peterſburg, Berlin, or Vienna, in order to ſave their properties and their families. He even forewarned the leaders of the confederation to be upon their guard againſt their own illuſions, or the falſe hopes by which they might be inſpired by others. He was then perſuaded, and is at this moment more than ever convinced, that true policy ought to be frank and open, and that a good cauſe is but little ſerved by employing perfidy and falſehood in treating with foreign nations.

Soon

Soon after this, he received intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had appointed the baron de Viomeſnil, a major-general of acknowledged military talents, and great good ſenſe, to ſucceed him. The character of this officer was at once noble, generous, and frank. A fine figure, much amiableneſs, and invincible courage, uncommon good fortune, and great actions, had juſtly elevated him to military honours. He is at preſent the beſt general in the army ſerving under the prince de Condé againſt the French anarchiſts. At his departure he had received very unfavourable impreſſions againſt his predeceſſor, now in diſgrace, and been provided with certain inſtructions, which, in the hands of a man leſs juſt and honourable, might have proved his ruin.

Dumouriez received a copy of theſe inſtructions in a very extraordinary manner. There was a clerk employed in Gerard's office, who did not poſſeſs much eſteem for his ſuperiour. He had never ſeen Dumouriez, and was wholly unknown to him. He had been long and paſſionately deſirous of the ſucceſs of the Poliſh revolution, but had never entertained any hopes on this ſubject, until he had peruſed the diſpatches of that envoy. He read them over,

over, and over again, and became exceedingly attached to their author. He was often obliged to copy others, that were in expreſs oppoſition to that plan, which appeared to him to be the beſt. He had experienced great joy from the firſt moment that he heard of the ſucceſsful invaſion of the palatinate of Cracow; he loſt all hope after the action at Landſcron; but far from throwing the blame of this misfortune upon the agent, he at once pitied and juſtified him. He was enraged on peruſing the inſtructions, which were intended to ruin him, and had the boldneſs to tranſmit him a copy of them, encloſed in a blank cover; it was not until four years afterwards, that he diſcovered to whom he was indebted for this communication.

The paper in queſtion was replete with falſe notions, intending to deceive general Viomeſnil. The ſtate of the forces of the confederation, reckoning from the period preceding the route at Landſcron, was depicted as very conſiderable. He was accordingly preſented with a detail of twenty thouſand excellent cavalry; four thouſand infantry, which might be increaſed in a three, or even a four-fold proportion; five or ſix ſtrong towns, before which the

the Ruſſians had been repeatedly foiled; and more than one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. In addition to all theſe means of defence, it announced the approaching inſurrection in Lithuania, and nearly the certainty of the deſertion of the army of the crown, which would aſſuredly join him. Thus was held out a magical deſcription of fifty or ſixty thouſand men, who were made to ſpring out of the earth, by the mere motion of a conjurer's wand, in addition to an auguſt ſenate living in ſtrict union, ſubdivided into ſeveral councils, and keeping envoys in almoſt all courts.

The next article reſpected Dumouriez; it began with ſome perfidious eulogiums, and by an avowal that his ideas and his induſtry had contributed to this brilliant ſtate of affairs; but all the bad ſucceſs, that afterwards occurred, was attributed to his inexperience, petulance, obſtinacy, and *gigantic projects*. It was intimated to Viomeſnil, that he would find many complaints and accuſations againſt this envoy annexed, ſome from the members of the confederation (even from Pac himſelf), others from military leaders, and ſtill more from the French adventurers, who, after having gotten pay, and additional rank, hoped to meliorate

their

their ſituation by calumniating him to the new miniſter. As moſt of theſe complaints appeared to originate in the refuſal of money, great uneaſineſs was diſcovered on the mode of his employing the ſubſidy, and Viomeſnil was inſtructed to make him render a ſcrupulous account of it. The remainder of the accuſations related to the abuſe of his authority, and the harſhneſs of his conduct.

Dumouriez did not chooſe to loſe any of the papers relative to the affairs of Poland, as they might one day prove uſeful; and as Viomeſnil, with whom he was unacquainted, might have received orders to ſeize them, he tied up a ſmall packet, which he confided to the care of his faithful couſin Chateauneuf, and he made him ſet out for Vienna, under pretence of meeting and returning with his ſucceſſor; but excuſing himſelf on account of his health, which was very delicate, he continued his journey to France, where he depoſited his charge in ſafety. Theſe have become a prey to the anarchiſts, as well as the "memoirs relative to Poland," and "remarks on Hungary," which he had drawn up at his leiſure moments. He had retained no other than ſuch pieces as were

were neceſſary for certifying his faithful employment of the ſubſidy.

Viomeſnil arrived at Bilitz at the beginning of September; he was at firſt exceedingly cold and reſerved with his predeceſſor, who, ſtudying his character, waited patiently for the moment of obtaining his confidence. After hearing the tales of his accuſers, after ſearching on all ſides, on purpoſe to realiſe the brilliant picture of the ſtrength and expectations held out in his deceitful inſtructions, neither finding abilities among the Poles, agreement in their aſſembly, fixed plan, nor actual army, he reſigned himſelf to the honeſty and frankneſs of his temper, and waited one morning on Dumouriez, in company with an engineer called Menouville, a man of great talents, who poſſeſſed and deſerved all his confidence; then reaſſuming his natural character, a very cordial explanation enſued, which produced a friendſhip that has united them ever ſince.

He did not even conceal, that he knew his inſtructions to be extremely hoſtile to him, and that in conſequence of this, he had taken the precaution to tranſmit his papers to France; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that this circumſtance ſhould not prevent him from af-

fording him all the information, of which he might be desirous, because he could depend upon his memory. He in truth, was so certain of its fidelity, that in 1794, three and twenty years after this event, notwithstanding his head was occupied with still more important affairs, without one single document before him, and without even a map, the proper names, the places, the positions, the particulars of the business and the intrigues, as also the dates, all present themselves in order, and with exactness, while he is employed in writing on this subject.

He then informed him of the very unpromising state in which he had found the confederation, the flattering appearance which its affairs had for a moment assumed on his plans being pursued, the desperate situation to which it was now reduced through its own misconduct, the dangers resulting from the false and deceitful politics of the court of France, and the disasters which would ensue in consequence of the disgraces experienced by the Turks; as these would assuredly complete the ruin of this chimerical revolution, and the certainty of the approaching partition of Poland. He concluded by advising him not to risk his military reputation,

putation, by putting himſelf at the head of ſuch troops, an objection which did not apply to himſelf, as he was no more than a ſimple colonel. He finally preſented him with a ſtatement of his expenſes, which only amounted to one hundred and ſixty-five thouſand livres; he left him one hundred thouſand *livres* in hand, out of the ſums provided for 1770, and the whole appointments for 1771, which had never been touched.

Viomeſnil and Menouville were aſtoniſhed at what they heard. The general preſſed him exceedingly to remain, promiſing in that caſe to get him appointed a brigadier: he perſiſted however in his refuſal, and the baron de Viomeſnil will doubtleſs remember his anſwer. He ſaid, that if theſe were French troops, he would moſt willingly ſerve under his command, were he only to head fifty dragoons; but that, after having ſuperintended the military and political affairs of the confederation, he could not act in a ſubordinate capacity; that the Poles were lofty, and himſelf proud; and that he ſhould be perpetually involved in quarrels, which would render his ſervices abortive. The general acknowledged the juſtice of his obſervations, demanded information re-

ſpecting certain particulars from him, which he readily communicated, and he ſold his horſes and carriages to him, on his departure.

Viomeſnil had the honeſty to inform the duke d'Aiguillon, that Dumouriez's plans were excellent, and that, had they been purſued, every thing would have ſucceeded. He preſented him, among other papers, with a ſcheme for ſurpriſing the caſtle of Cracow. This project was very excellent; he had kept it by him during two months, and reſerved it for a period when he ſhould be provided with more infantry; as alſo another for getting poſſeſſion of Zamoſc, which was to be delivered up to him. He wiſhed to bring theſe two projects, the inſurrection of Lithuania, and his eſtabliſhment at Sendomir, all into play at the ſame time. Their partial execution appeared to him to be more hurtful, than advantageous.

After his departure, Viomeſnil, in conformity with his enterpriſing character, and his reliance on his good fortune, hoping alſo to be able to arouſe the Poles from their apathy, and reſtore to them that energy and activity which they had loſt, cauſed the caſtle of Cracow to be ſurpriſed by the brave Choiſy,

who ſince died a lieutenant general, and whom, as well as twenty other excellent officers belonging to the light troops, he had brought along with him. The Ruſſians marched to beſiege the place, and Viomeſnil was never able to unite the poliſh cavalry in order to ſuccour it. Choiſy, after ſuſtaining a memorable ſiege, which did infinite honour to the French, and which forms one of thoſe very brilliant epochs ſo common in their military hiſtory, was obliged to capitulate, after defending this paltry fortreſs during two months.

The partition of Poland enſued in conſequence of the treaty of Berlin, and Viomeſnil returned into France, after having fulfilled a difficult, unſucceſsful, and diſagreeable miſſion.

Such are the great outlines of the revolution in Poland, in which Dumouriez acted a part, and concerning which he has treated ſomewhat at large, on purpoſe to ſupply the memoirs which he had drawn up, as they have been ſince loſt. The Poles are ſtill more to be pitied than blamed. The princes, who have diſmembered their vaſt territories, were all guarantees of their conſtitution, and their liberty.

They are brave, generous, poliſhed, and

ſociable. At the period now alluded to, genius, talents, and activity, were all monopoliſed by the females. The women tranſacted buſineſs, and exhibited energy, while the men led a voluptuous life, and addicted themſelves wholly to gallantry. Dumouriez, by way of deſcribing them to the duke of Choiſeul, termed them in one of his diſpatches "the Aſiatics of Europe." They poſſeſs the moſt ardent deſire of liberty, and they will ſacrifice their fortune, and even life, to that paſſion, without the leaſt heſitation; but their ſocial ſyſtem and their conſtitution oppoſe all their efforts, and even turn them againſt themſelves. Their inſurrections are ſo many flaſhes of lightning, that only ſerve to kindle the fires in the neighbouring ſmithies, where their chains are forged.

Their ſlavery has already endured for ſeventy years, that is to ſay, from the time when Peter the Great founded the Ruſſian empire. It is from this period that they ought to have formed confederations, and to have been ſupported by the powers intereſted in oppoſing the grandeur of that new people. They fight for their conſtitution: to preſerve their liberty, they ought to begin by deſtroying it. The Poliſh conſtitution is a pure ariſtocracy, but one in which

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the nobles have not a people to govern, for this name cannot be given to eight or ten thouſand bondmen, fixed to the ſoil, who do not poſſeſs any political exiſtence, and whoſe ſlavery is ſold, bought, bartered, inherited, and follows every mutation of property, exactly in the ſame manner as if they were domeſtic animals. The ſocial body of the Poles is a monſter compoſed of an union of heads and ſtomachs, without either arms or legs.

Their regulations, and penal code, reſemble thoſe of the ſugar colonies, which, for the very ſame reaſon, will never be able to ſupport their independence. The Poliſh nation conſiſted only, before the partition, of a ſocial body of eight or nine hundred thouſand nobles, ſcattered over a ſurface, which, under another form of government, would have been able to have maintained thirty millions of freemen.

The Spartans, indeed, had their helots; in the ſame manner as the Poles their enſlaved peaſantry: but the former occupied a very confined portion of territory, poſſeſſed auſtere manners, harſh laws, and a well ordered government. The Spartans armed their helots, made uſe of them in time of war, and ſupplied with them

the diminution of inhabitants, when the city became depopulated, by elevating a certain number to the rank of citizens. The noble Poles, on the other hand, dare not entruſt arms in the hands of their ſlaves, and never admit them to the honour of nobility.

At Sparta, property was in common, the citizens were all equal, the kings were conſtantly natives, and the office hereditary, the ephori moderated their authority, and there did not exiſt any means whatever of corruption. In Poland the hereditary offices, the palatines, caſtlewards, and ſtaroſties, have produced an immenſe inequality among the citizens, that is to ſay, the nobles; every election of a king is a renewal of corruption and venality; and the tumultuous annual diets, and, above all, the *liberum veto*, have conſpired to enfeeble the republic, by throwing it, in conſequence of its very conſtitutional forms, into anarchy, and diſorder. Even the confederations themſelves are the means of enfeebling the country on account of their very legality, and by the practice with which the Poles have become familiar of ſporting with, and rendering them a fruitful ſource of diſcord, and intrigues.

It would, therefore, have been neceſſary, if the

the Poles wiſhed to be really in a ſtate of freedom, to have aboliſhed their conſtitution at the beginning of the preſent century, and acquired a maſs of citizens proportioned to their territory, by rendering their peaſants free. Their characters then would have been fully and advantageouſly diſplayed, and they would have formed a reſpectable nation, for their virtues are their own, and their vices appertain to their inſupportable conſtitution.

The parts of Poland hitherto invaded have gained by a change of maſters. That portion which remains ſtill forms a territory conſiderable enough to become an independent power, if it were to admit of a free and ſocial ſyſtem, which, by rendering all the cultivators of the ſoil citizens, would intereſt the whole body in its exiſtence as a nation. It would be a great effort, but it is abſolutely neceſſary, if they wiſh that a Poliſh nation ſhould exiſt. If they themſelves do not adopt this deciſive part, nothing can prevent the partition from being complete. The republic, or kingdom of Poland, will be then effaced from the annals of Europe, in the ſame manner as the Aſſyrian and Roman empires, and thoſe of ſo many other nations, are ſwept from the annals

annals of mankind. Is it an evil? Is it a bleſſing? Providence alone can tell. Men are children who ſport ſeriouſly with their exiſtence, until its unchangeable decrees, whether they will or not, fix their deſtiny.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Dumouriez returns to France.

DUMOURIEZ felt much regret on taking leave of the baron de Viomeſnil, and ſome Poles, more eſpecially Bohucz, who died in France a few years afterwards; he had gone thither in ſearch of an aſylum. This man poſſeſſed an exalted character, and a vaſt genius. Had the confederation proved ſucceſsful, he would have governed, and changed the face of Poland.

Dumouriez ſet off in company with the count de Segur, a captain of dragoons, who had acted as his *aide-de-camp*; and being in no haſte to return home, as he was certain of receiving a very cool reception, he prolonged his journey for the ſake of information; proceeded through Hungary, where he left many friends; traverſed Bohemia, to ſurvey the fields in which the great Frederick had reaped all his

glory; viſited the camp of Pirna in Saxony; ſtaid ſome time at Dreſden, and Leipſic; and then croſſed to Frankfort; whence re-entering France by Bruſſels and Mons, he reſted himſelf for ſome time with his ſiſter, the abbeſs of Fervaques, at St. Quentin, and did not arrive at Paris until the beginning of January 1772.

The count de Broglio, Mr. Chauvelin, and Favier, all announced that the miniſter for foreign affairs was enraged againſt him. He had forborn, out of mere delicacy, to deduct his appointments from the ſubſidy; his ſalary was nine months in arrear, and the ſum due to him was twenty-ſeven thouſand *livres*. He had expended near forty thouſand *livres* of his patrimony in the courſe of this unfortunate miſſion.

He accordingly repaired to Verſailles, and demanded an audience of the duke d'Aiguillon. This was granted him, and it proved a very warm one. The duke, whom he had never ſeen before, addreſſed him as follows in a very lofty and irritated tone of voice:

"Ah! it is you. I hope that you do not expect any recompenſe?"

"I truſt you are too juſt, *monſieur le duc*, to put me under the neceſſity of ſoliciting any."

"Very

" Very well, you ſhall not have any; the king is exceedingly diſcontented with you."

" It appears to me, that he ought to be ſatisfied with the report of the baron de Viomeſnil."

" No, ſir. I have three ſubjects of complaint againſt you."

" What is the firſt?" cried Dumouriez in a haughty manner. The duke, equally aſtoniſhed at the queſtion, and the tone in which it was put, exclaimed, at the ſame time ſtammering with anger,

" Do you dare to interrogate me? Know that I am able to puniſh you."

" I am not fooliſh enough, *monſieur le duc*, to doubt your power. I poſſeſs no other patrimony than my good conduct. You ſay you have three ſubjects of complaint againſt me, and you appear very much irritated: I beſeech you to tell me the firſt of them." " You have formed mad and gigantic projects." " This charge does not apply to me alone, for the king and council have conſented to, and even you yourſelf have approved of them: I am in poſſeſſion of your own letters to this effect. What is the ſecond accuſation?"

" The ſecond, ſir? You have treated an aſſembly

assembly representing a nation, and consisting of Polish nobles, brutally and indecently."

"That is untrue, *Mr. le duc*; you have been imposed upon. However, let us discriminate: I have never written or spoken to the confederation, which I endeavoured to exalt to the height of its dignity, but with respect; yet I acknowledge that I have been several times obliged to treat individuals, even although they might be great lords, with harshness. Both at Scavina and at Landscron I rallied the fugitives with the flat side of my sabre, without inquiring whether they were nobles or not; I only did then what the baron de Viomesnil will be obliged to do, and what you yourself would have done in my place. I must tell you, that this complaint is unworthy of your attention. What is the third accusation?"

"Oh! to crown all, you have the insolence to bully me. You are one of the duke de Choiseul's creatures."

"I am only the creature of God and my sword; this epithet, therefore, can only appertain to your footmen, and so I shall retire." Having accordingly opened the door for this purpose, the duke added,

"I shall

"I ſhall cauſe you to be ſhut up in the Baſtille."

"You are able, no doubt, to ſend me thither, but it is not you who will order me to be enlarged."

"You are very hot-headed."

"*Monſieur le duc*, I am only converſant with balls, which are ſtill hotter than my head. But why do you treat me ſo harſhly?"

On this the duke aſſumed a calmer aſpect, and ſaid to him graciouſly enough, "I intend at leaſt to be juſt; you have informed me that your appointments are due, and I ſhall cauſe them to be moſt punctually diſcharged; but do not expect any thing more of me."

"Very good. I only applied myſelf incidentally to foreign affairs, and I have had enough of them; I ſhall addreſs myſelf to the miniſter at war." In the courſe of a week afterwards, his ſalary was accordingly paid him.

On ſallying forth from this warm conference, he inſtantly repaired to the houſe of the marquis de Monteynard, miniſter at war, whom alſo he had never ſeen before. This miniſter was ſhut up in his cabinet. The *valet-de-chambre*, after announcing his name, deſired

him

him to return ſome other day, as his maſter had not then time to ſpeak to him. Enraged at this anſwer, he burſt open the door, ſhut it after him, and interrupted Mr. de Monteynard, who, with a very cold air, demanded why he preſumed to force himſelf into the apartment of a miniſter?

"You perceive that I am exceedingly moved," replied he; "hear me, however, and you ſhall determine whether I am in the wrong." He then recapitulated with much emotion the particulars of his recent converſation with the duke d'Aiguillon. During the recital, the grave and forbidding countenance of Mr. de Monteynard became animated; he felt for him, and aſſured him, that he ſhould not experience the ſame injuſtice at his hands.

Mr. de Monteynard deteſted the duke d'Aiguillon: and all the duke de Choiſeul's party, eſpecially the prince de Condé, who had elevated him to the miniſtry, ſupported him in office in oppoſition to the new miniſtry. The conference became exceedingly long; and, in the courſe of four days afterwards, Mr. de M. attached him with three thouſand *livres* pay to the regiment of Lorraine, of which the count de Viomeſnil, brother to the general, charged

charged with the miſſion in Poland, and with whom he had been acquainted ever ſince the Corſican war, was colonel. From that moment he enjoyed the confidence of the miniſter at war on many occaſions.

He recounted this adventure to the count de Broglio and Favier, and they made an article of it in the ſecret correſpondence of Louis XV. That king deteſted the duke d'Aiguillon, and had no opinion of his talents; he was, however, more at his eaſe with him than with the duke de Choiſeul, whoſe marked ſuperiority in point of talents had always put him under reſtraint.

He ſpent the year 1772 partly at Paris and partly at Verſailles, where he had hired apartments at the death of his uncle. Being merely on the ſtaff of the legion of Lorraine, he was not liable to any duty. This, however, did not preclude ſtudy. The firſt fruits of his labours conſiſted of "Inſtructions for Light Troops;" this was a practical treatiſe relative to that ſpecies of warfare, which is carried on upon a ſmall ſcale, and contained an account of every thing that an officer ought to learn in order to become a good partiſan. He procured one of his diſciples, called Monſigny, a troop of dra-

goons in the regiment of Lorraine, on purpoſe to carry his inſtructions into execution. This plan ſucceeded perfectly well, and would have been univerſally adopted, had it not been for the reforms introduced by Mr. de St. Germain in 1774.

He was afterwards charged by the miniſter at war to examine a new treatiſe relative to the management of the military hoſpitals, drawn up by a phyſician of the name of Colombier. This work conſiſted of two parts, the one entitled "Military Hygeine," and the other "Military Therapeutice." This produced diſcuſſions, and experiments were alſo made in hoſpitals eſtabliſhed expreſsly for that purpoſe. But the practice of the old adminiſtrators of the royal hoſpitals, and of the ancient ſyſtem of medicine, at length prevailed; and this ſcheme, which only produced a few ſlight amendments, and the reform of a few groſs abuſes, procured him many enemies, on account of his having ſupported Colombier, who, in other reſpects, was a dangerous and bad man, but exceedingly well-informed.

He was ſoon afterwards employed on labours of another kind, which occupied his attention during ſix months. He had drawn up memo-

rials,

rials, in the courſe of his travels, on the military regulations of Portugal, Spain, Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Auſtria. Mr. de Monteynard, to whom he communicated them, deſired him to make out a comparative and accurate analyſis of theſe; he accordingly portioned them out into ſix ſeparate columns, one of which included France. This cloſe and connected view of each of theſe ſyſtems, with diſſertations relative to ſuch differences in the national genius, as either rendered variation or oppoſition neceſſary, formed altogether an inſtructive work: it is loſt.

Mr. de Monteynard was a miniſter of middling talents, but a ſenſible, honeſt, and induſtrious man. He had ſerved with reputation, was a good ſtaff officer, and was intimately acquainted with the *minutiæ* relative to the management of armies; but out of the military line he was utterly ignorant. He was no longer at a time of life to ſtudy the law of nations and their intereſts, and he would not indeed have found time for that purpoſe. Knowing his own deficiency on theſe ſubjects, he often mentioned this matter to Dumouriez in their private conferences; and on purpoſe to render the ſubject more intelligible, the latter drew up a little work for his uſe, entitled, "A Speculative De-

ſcription of Europe;" of this Louis XV received a copy, which inſpired him with a predilection for the author, that produced his impriſonment in the Baſtille.

It was alſo in the courſe of that ſame year that he ſketched out, in conjunction with Guibert and de Lille, formerly commiſſary of proviſion in Corſica, a work relative to the ſtates-general, of which the politicians of that day ſuppoſed we might ſtand in need. No one of theſe three then imagined, that this precious reſource would be productive of the dreadful evils that have ſince occurred in France.

All the members of that witty, learned, and amiable ſociety, with which he was then intimate, are now dead; happily for them, the greater part did not live to ſee the revolution! Thoſe with whom he afterwards formed an acquaintance, ſuch as Bailly, Champfort, and others, have become its victims. All his friends, his relations, and his companions in arms, have been either maſſacred, or compelled to become fugitives. That Paris, then the reſidence of wit and philoſophy, is now the very ſink of crimes. Blood has inundated all the ſtreets which he formerly traverſed. Pillage has laid waſte all the houſes which he formerly viſited.

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He would not now be able to find a ſingle face there with which he was then acquainted. Atrocious licentiouſneſs keeps its inhabitants in conſtant terrour. The *ſans-culottes* excepted, all the world cry out, "Long live liberty!" trembling at the ſame time at the idea of the guillotine. He looks for his country, and finds nothing but ruins. He ſearches for Frenchmen, and perceives only ferocious ſavages covered with blood.

Unhappy emigrants, ceaſe to reproach each other with the evils that now overwhelm you. All Frenchmen, to whatever party they may belong, have received wrongs, and committed errours. May a mutual indulgence prepare them to re-unite, whenever this great deluge of blood and crimes ſhall have paſſed away!

He himſelf is too old to hope ever to behold regenerated France. Whatever may be the ſtate that awaits him, he will die free, for his mind cannot be enchained, and his laſt will ſhall be in favour of his country and his countrymen, whatever may be their opinions, ruffians and tyrants only excepted.

CHAP. X.

The Revolution in Sweden.

THE marquis d'Oſſun and the duke de Crillon came to Paris in the courſe of this ſame year. Dumouriez often ſaw the firſt, and conſtantly expreſſed towards him thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and attachment, which he ſo juſtly merited. He frequently met the ſecond, who was extremely gay and amiable. He had been an officer in the king's regiment at the ſame time with the duke d'Aiguillon, with whom he was intimately acquainted; he accordingly took it into his head to inſpire this miniſter with a more favourable opinion of Dumouriez, and to render the latter attached to the duke. He had now been ſix months in Paris, without ever having re-viſited the miniſter. The officers who had returned from Poland received recompences, and were gratified with preferment. Mr. de Monteynard, however, had not courage enough to take advantage of this opportunity

to

to procure the rank of brigadier for his *inſtructor in politics*, who ſupported this mark of injuſtice with a very philoſophical degree of patience, although Mr. de Broglio and de Chauvelin, who appeared to be more affected than himſelf, had endeavoured to get him included in this petty promotion. The duke de Crillon mentioned the circumſtance to the duke d'Aiguillon, and in a few days afterwards he received a very gracious letter from this miniſter, incloſing an order for three thouſand livres on the department of foreign affairs. He at the ſame time deſired him to call upon him, and on that occaſion aſſumed a very gracious air; but Dumouriez, who conſidered this gratification as an affront, appeared very cool. On his entrance he drew the order out of his pocket, and reſtoring it to him, ſaid, "I thank you, *monſieur le duc*, for your good intentions, but I have not aſked for any thing, and this is either too much or too little." The duke, who was petrified with aſtoniſhment, placed the order on his deſk, and replied with a conſtrained look, "It is very well." Dumouriez then retired, and they never met afterwards.

Thus the friendly conduct of the good duke de Crillon only ſerved to embroil them ſtill

more. A few days afterwards Crillon ſaid to him, "I have juſt ſeen the miniſter, who is furious againſt you; he calls you a *Britomar*."

"What is a Britomar?" ſaid he.

"It is a proud man with an ungovernable character, celebrated in the romance of Caſſandra of Calprenéde."

"Ah! where did the duke d'Aiguillon acquire ſo much erudition?"

"We had no other kind of reading in the king's regiment; and I am perſuaded, notwithſtanding his being a miniſter, that he has never peruſed any other books but romances." This converſation was not loſt; Louis XV read it in the ſecret correſpondence. Dumouriez looked over the romance of Caſſandra, and was well enough contented with the character of BRITOMAR.

It was this year that the king of Sweden changed the government of his native country. That revolution, conducted with much ſecrecy and addreſs, did not coſt a drop of blood; but it laid the foundation of all the wars, the conſpiracies, and the crimes, of which the king was at length the victim, and which ſtill agitate that unfortunate kingdom. Louis XV was very fond of this young monarch; it is even pretended,

pretended, that he chalked out the plan followed by him; this much is certain, that the count de Broglio, the friend of the Scheffers, who were the confidents of Guſtavus III, had been much occupied relative to Sweden, during the preceding year.

It was feared leſt the party of Axel Ferſen, who was at the head of the oppoſition, ſhould call in the aſſiſtance of Ruſſia; and it was reſolved in that caſe, either to tranſmit ſeven millions of *livres*, or ſend 7000 men, in conformity with the treaty between France and Sweden. But as there was not any money in the treaſury, Mr. d'Aiguillon wiſhed to employ the German brigade on this occaſion, and he intended to beſtow the command of it on the marquis de Caſtries, afterwards marſhal of France, and miniſter of the marine, whom he would not have been ſorry to have ſeen removed to a greater diſtance.

The marquis de Caſtries was a handſome man, and the inheritance of the marſhal de Belle Iſle had rendered him very rich. He was exceedingly induſtrious, had ſerved in a very brilliant manner, and poſſeſſed ſeveral great military employments. He appeared to aſpire at the miniſtry, and thus gave umbrage to the

duke

duke d'Aiguillon, who, with leſs talents, but as much ambition as his great uncle, the cardinal de Richelieu, wiſhed in his turn to be prime miniſter.

There was ſome difficulty relative to the mode of tranſporting the troops of France into Sweden. By land it was impoſſible, and by ſea it was thought it could not be done without the permiſſion of the Engliſh. A lieutenant general called Martanges, a man well calculated to ſhine in ſociety, was ſent to London to negotiate relative to this buſineſs. The Britiſh miniſtry allowed itſelf to be entreated, and at length permitted the paſſage of the troops, on condition however that they ſhould be embarked on board Engliſh tranſports, which were to ſail under convoy of frigates of the ſame nation.

All this was tranſacted without the knowledge of the miniſter at war. Dumouriez having learned the circumſtance from the count de Broglio and Favier, who ridiculed the embarraſſments of the duke d'Aiguillon on this occaſion, he waited on Mr. de Monteynard, who was ſurpriſed at the intelligence, and who ſwore that he would never permit the French troops to be conveyed in ſo ſhameful a manner. He was in the right, but it was neceſſary to aſcribe mo-

tives for his refuſal, and to ſubſtitute a better mode.

Dumouriez recollected, that, while he was in Spain, a colonel, called Laſcy, had been employed in recruiting foreigners for that country, and that he had an officer for this purpoſe in Hamburgh, who often furniſhed ſix, and ſometimes even twelve hundred men *per ann.* He accordingly drew up a memorial, in which, after demonſtrating the neceſſity of granting the ſubſidy to the king of Sweden in men, and not in money, he alluded to the diſgraceful negotiation between the duke d'Aiguillon and the Engliſh cabinet, which had produced an inadmiſſible propoſition on the part of the court of St. James's, and propoſed to furniſh the contingent of ſeven thouſand troops, without removing a ſingle man out of France.

He required that a good lieutenant general, who ſhould be a man *of fortune*, and two major generals of equal reſpectability, ſhould be ſelected, together with a proportionable number of officers of all ranks and deſcriptions; that theſe ſhould be ſent off, with orders to reunite at Wiſmar; that ſome of them ſhould be placed in certain fixed ſtations, ſuch as Liege, Hamburgh, and Dantzick, and that an amneſty

ſhould

ſhould be publiſhed in favour of all deſerters, who leaving foreign ſervice, ſhould repair to any of theſe places. By theſe means the diſgrace and the expenſe of tranſportation would be ſaved, a diſmemberment of the army would be avoided, and ſeven or eight thouſand men would be reſtored to their country, who would have well deſerved their pardon.

Mr. de Monteynard carried this memorial to the king, who was well pleaſed with it. At the end of two days he aſked him if the idea had been ſuggeſted by any one, and he replied without heſitation, that it had originated with Dumouriez. "Very well; tell him," ſaid the king, "that he muſt prepare to ſet out for Hamburg; I adopt the plan, but he himſelf muſt go and examine into its practicability on the ſpot, and alſo aſcertain the time neceſſary for its completion. It is my wiſh that d'Aiguillon ſhould remain ignorant of this buſineſs."

Mr. de Monteynard communicated the king's orders to Dumouriez, who on his part made a very natural objection: "All this buſineſs is within the department of foreign affairs; the duke d'Aiguillon will quarrel with you on this ſubject, and as he is more powerful, you will be abandoned by the king, and diſmiſſed from your

your office; as to myſelf, I ſhall be ruined. Be ſo kind at leaſt as to mention this to the king, and ſtate to him the cauſe of my repugnance." M. de Monteynard, being ſtruck with the juſtice of theſe reflections, waited on his majeſty, who ſaid to him in an impatient tone of voice: "It is my pleaſure that it ſhall be ſo; preſent Dumouriez to me." He was accordingly preſented that very evening to Louis XV. "Set out for Hamburg, and execute Monteynard's orders." Theſe were the only words he uttered, after which, without waiting for a reply, he withdrew.

As this was concluſive, he accordingly departed in the month of June; inſtructions, cipher, paſſport, and money, were all received from the miniſter at war. He arrived ſafe at Hamburg. The two factions in Sweden, of the *bats* and *caps*, accommodated their differences during this interval, and, in ſhort, a pacification enſued. He was well pleaſed to get rid of this buſineſs, and his commiſſion being now at an end, he imagined himſelf out of all danger. He kept up a cloſe correſpondence with the miniſter, whom he informed of all he ſaw and heard. He frequented the beſt ſociety at Hamburg, and amuſed himſelf very agreeably.

agreeably. He had never been in Pruſſia. Güibert being then at Berlin, he requeſted him to mention to Frederick the Great how deſirous he was of ſeeing and admiring his majeſty. The king, who had been acquainted with him by reputation ever ſince his miſſion in Poland, conſented to receive him. He alſo requeſted Favier to tranſmit him a letter of recommendation for prince Henry, who had a great regard for him.

During his ſtay at Hamburg he was ſurrounded by the ſpies of the duke d'Aiguillon; they had intercepted ſeveral letters addreſſed to him; and, amongſt the reſt, two or three from the count de Segur, who very imprudently informed him of the Dubarry's being preſented to the dauphineſs, and alſo communicated ſeveral indecent ſtories about the king's ſeraglio. At length, in the month of October 1773, two days before the time fixed for his departure for Berlin, he was arreſted in his bed at midnight, by an old baron de la Houze, envoy from France, with whom he had lived in the utmoſt intimacy, and who introduced to him an inſpector of the police called d'Hemery, a very amiable and mild man.

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He might have complained at being arreſted in a free city, and claimed his liberty, as he was conſcious of his innocence. He, however, repaired very quietly to the *Hotel de France*, where he remained during nine days. The whole city flocked to ſee him; and never did that houſe receive a more numerous company.

At the expiration of this period he ſet out with the inſpector and two of his companions; he himſelf was accompanied by two very brave domeſtics. He might have eſcaped with great eaſe both at Weſel and in Brabant, but he continued his journey with great tranquillity, and entered the Baſtille the latter end of October.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Baſtille.

UNTIL 1773, the life of Dumouriez had been agitated and unſettled. His ſtudies, his labours, and his employments, were all connected with foreign intereſts and external objects. France was one of the ſtates in which he had leaſt reſided, and with which he was leaſt acquainted.

At this epoch he began to lead a new and very different kind of life, far more grave and ſedentary than heretofore. Entirely occupied about the intereſts of his native country, inveſted with an employment that fixed his ideas and ſufficiently gratified his paſſion for public affairs, and as well contented with his lot as a man could poſſibly be, he was buſied, in the midſt of his books and his labours, with an object much more important for France, and far more

more ſatisfactory for his own philanthropy. Nothing but a revolution could have forced him from ſo ſage and tranquil a ſtation. Such an event actually took place, and he now finds himſelf plunged once more into a wandering and agitated ſtate of life, and that too at a period when he has attained an age better fitted for repoſe.

On carefully peruſing the memoirs of his life, it may be perceived, that continually ſpurred on by the neceſſity of procuring ſome employment for himſelf, by the horrour which he entertained at the idea of idleneſs, and by a thirſt for inſtruction, he poſſeſſed more activity than ambition, and a greater deſire of filling a part in the *drama*, than of appearing on the ſtage. It will be recollected, that he refuſed a ſuperiour rank, firſt in Spain, afterwards in France. The injuſtice done him by the duke d'Aiguillon, in conſequence of the promotion of officers who had ſerved under him in Poland, did not in the leaſt affect him. Still more inſenſible to avarice, he became poorer, daily, amidſt the brilliant miſſions with which he had been entruſted, and he often rejected ſolicitations made to him, in order to induce him to *ſell* his credit with the two miniſters whoſe

confidence he enjoyed. He had refuſed the offer of three very rich marriages at Paris, merely becauſe they were founded on the proſpect of his advancement. A penſion of three thouſand *livres* a year, and appointments to an equal amount, were the whole of his acquiſitions: but he had fairly earned them, and he was therefore content. In ſhort, he had not any thing to reproach himſelf with, and without being diſguſted with life, he was but little attached to it; he accordingly neither felt uneaſineſs, nor chagrin, on entering a priſon.

He arrived at the Baſtille at nine o'clock at night. He was received by the major, who was an old man, a pedant, and a janſeniſt; this officer cauſed him to be minutely ſearched, and his money, his knife, and even his ſhoe buckles, were taken from him. He was curious to know why they were ſo particular in reſpect to the laſt of theſe articles; on this the major, aſſuming a very cunning look, told him that a priſoner had been *malicious* enough to ſtrangle himſelf by ſwallowing the tongue of his buckle. Notwithſtanding this remark, he was ſo horribly imprudent as to omit his knee buckles. He did not take the trouble to remind him of this circumſtance, but as he was extremely hungry,

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he aſked for ſomething to eat. It was obſerved in reply, that it was very late; and indeed the ſearch, and enumeration of his effects, had occupied an hour and a half. He, however, beſought the major to ſend to the next tavern for a fowl.

"A fowl?" rejoins he; "do you know that this is friday?"

"You are entruſted with my perſon only, and not my conſcience. I am ill; for the Baſtille itſelf is a malady: do not therefore refuſe me a fowl." D'Hemery, who was preſent, convinced the major of the juſtice of this remark, and he immediately diſpatched a proper perſon for this purpoſe.

He was then conducted to his apartment. It was a large octagonal chamber, of about fifteen feet in every direction, and at leaſt twenty five in height; the only window, which was twenty two feet high, and opened in three different parts, was a narrow embraſure, at leaſt fifteen feet thick, guarded with double rows of maſſive iron bars. All the moveables conſiſted of an old bed, with ſerge curtains, the whole very dirty, and very uncomfortable, a cloſe-ſtool, a wooden table, a ſtraw bottomed chair, and a pitcher. A turn-

key, or jailor, who was a very robuſt man, with a clowniſh aſpect, lighted a fire, left a candle, and then went out for his ſupper. He in the mean time employed himſelf in reading the inſcriptions on the walls. He found many names, remarks, prayers, and a few obſcenities; the latter of which convinced him, that this melancholy place of abode had not always been inhabited by good company. He then ſupped, went to bed, and fell aſleep.

He was awakened the next morning with the horrible noiſe made by the enormous keys of his jailor, who opened two very thick doors fortified by means of plates and bands of iron, with which it was bound on all ſides. He brought him ſome bread and wine for his breakfaſt, and deſired him to dreſs himſelf, as the governor wiſhed to ſee him at nine. This man, of whom he inquired if there were not a better chamber to be had, aſſured him that it was one of the beſt in all the *tower of liberty*, for by a refinement in barbarity, they had given that name to one of the towers of the Baſtille, and as this apartment was ſituated on the third ſtory, it was called *the third liberty*. He replied, at the ſame ſame time laughing: "It appears to me, that in this charming habitation, they add

add a biting kind of ſauce to their hoſpitality." This obſervation was repeated by the turnkey, and it was on that occaſion he learned, that a voluminous regiſter was kept, in which the ſayings of the unhappy victims of miniſterial vengeance were inſerted. This would of courſe form a very fantaſtical book.

At nine o'clock, an adjutant, accompanied by a ſerjeant and four invalids, arrived, and immediately conducted him to the council chamber, without his being able to obtain an anſwer to any of the queſtions put to them. In a few minutes afterwards, an old man dreſſed in a morning gown made his appearance: this was the governor, who was called the count de Jumilhac. Never was there any man whoſe character bore leſs analogy to his frightful office; he had accepted of it merely becauſe it enabled him to reſide in Paris, and produced an income of ſixty thouſand livres a year. If he conducted himſelf in reſpect to all the other priſoners, in the ſame manner as with Dumouriez, they ought to have bleſſed providence for having deſtined him to ſuch a melancholy employment.

He was an old officer, and a man of pleaſure; he was kind, ſenſible, and well read. He did

not interfere with the *minutiæ* of houſekeeping, his major being his ſteward. He informed Dumouriez, that the king allowed fifteen *livres* a day for him, and three for each of his domeſtics, and that therefore, if he were not well treated, he had nothing to do but to complain to him. Dumouriez, on his entering the Baſtille, wiſhed to diſmiſs his ſervants, who had not been ordered to be arreſted; they, however, had abſolutely refuſed their liberty, preferring to follow the fate of their maſter; they, however, hoped to have been confined in the ſame apartment with him, but this did not occur until three months afterwards: one of them is at preſent married, and is the father of a family, the other is dead.

Jumilhac told him, that, in conformity to the regulations of the Baſtille, he was to be conſidered as a cloſe priſoner until his firſt examination had taken place; in other words, no perſon was allowed either to converſe with him, or to anſwer his queſtions. It was then that he was informed of the regiſter in which all the remarks of the priſoners were inſerted, for he repeated to him what he had ſaid to the jailor, and they laughed heartily at it.

He told him at the ſame time, that while a cloſe

a cloſe priſoner, he was not permitted to allow him either pen, ink, or any book whatever, not even a prayer book.

" But," added he, " I am too much intereſted in your behalf, to permit you to experience all the ſeverity of a ſtrict conformity to this rule. I am too old to viſit you in your apartment, I ſhall, therefore, make you deſcend every morning into this hall; carry theſe two volumes along with you, and conceal them ſomewhere or another." Theſe were two new romances. He embraced him tenderly.

Jumilhac was the brother-in-law of Mr. de Bertin, miniſter of ſtate, and ſuperintendant of the little private ſtock-jobbing ſpeculations of Louis XV. It is to be preſumed, that this miniſter was deſired to ſpeak to his relation, to alleviate the ſufferings of a man who had been ſhut up in the Baſtille for obeying the king's orders. His impriſonment, and the ridiculous proceſs that enſued, form one of the moſt characteriſtic anecdotes of the reign of this weak and hypocritical monarch; who, at the bottom, was, however, both good and juſt.

The ceremony of his cloſe confinement

continued for a week, during which he ſaw his good governor every morning, who not only ſupplied him with books, but recounted to him all the anecdotes about the women of pleaſure in Paris. He carried his attention ſo far as to ſupply him with a ſmall quantity of lemons, ſugar, coffee, and foreign wines; he alſo ſent him a diſh from his own table every day that he dined at home. This kindneſs laſted ſix months, and they ſeparated from each other ſworn friends.

The firſt act of the revolution was to deſtroy the Baſtille, as an inſupportable monument of deſpotiſm, becauſe the firſt cry of liberty was exerted againſt *lettres de cachet*, and the arbitrary arreſt of citizens, who were made to diſappear without the intervention of the laws. And yet thoſe monſters, the anarchiſts, have re-eſtabliſhed all theſe exceſſes, ſuch as the tyrannical ſecluſion of citizens, and cloſe impriſonment, and that too with a refinement in point of cruelty, that never exiſted under our kings! They indeed try the pretended culprits in a public manner: but to be brought before a revolutionary tribunal, is to be certainly condemned. A ferocious populace ſurround vulgar and barbarous judges, and drink by anticipation

ticipation the blood of the perſon accuſed, more eſpecially if he have the misfortune to be rich or noble. Bravos and plaudits, conſtantly ſucceed his condemnation: ſo much has anarchy degraded humanity! Even the guillotine is found to be too ſlow. At Lyons, cannons, loaded with grape ſhot, ſcattered into fragments whole bands of miſerable creatures; and the cavalry, with their ſabres, finiſhed the maſſacre of thoſe who ſtill palpitated with life, and who thus expired under a double torment, in the midſt of the drunkenneſs, and ſavage joy, of thoſe cannibals. At Nantes, two hundred prieſts were collected, and placed in a boat, which was afterwards ſunk in the Loire. Bundles of others, thirty and forty being tied up together, were precipitated into the river, on purpoſe to ſave ammunition! And yet the French, after having ſhaken off every principle of humanity, religion, and reſpect for the laws, worſhip, as they ſay, reaſon!

Although he mentions theſe horrours, he does not mean to accuſe the whole nation of them. He loves, he pities his countrymen, who have either been oppreſſed, or abuſed. He is firmly perſuaded, that, reſuming their antient character, in the courſe of twenty years, they will read this

this part of their annals with indignation; that they will deſtroy the abominable ſect, which has formed its conſtitutional principles of wickedneſs and cruelty, and will never pronounce the name of Marat, and his infamous adorers, without horrour. It is not until then, that France will riſe again from her aſhes, and reaſſume that rank in Europe, from which ſhe has degraded herſelf to acquire an exiſtence equally criminal and miſerable. Frenchmen, if my blood could reſtore to you your dignity, and your happineſs, I ſhould ſacrifice it with joy, and die content.

It was not until the ninth day, that he was ordered to deſcend into the council chamber, where he found three commiſſioners, and a ſecretary, ſitting round a table. After they had made him take an oath, and ſubſcribe his name and rank, he, in his turn, was curious to be acquainted with them. The preſident was an old counſellor of ſtate, named Marville, a man of talents, but vulgar in his manners, and much addicted to buffoonery. The ſecond was Mr. de Sartines, lieutenant of the police, and counſellor of ſtate, a cunning, and exceedingly adroit man. The third was a maſter of requeſts, named Villevaux, very falſe, and full of chicanery.

The ſecretary, who poſſeſſed more ability than any of them, was an advocate belonging to the council, called Beaumont. Dumouriez was too well acquainted with the hiſtory of France, not to perceive all the danger likely to reſult from an arbitrary commiſſion. The celebrated cardinal de Richelieu, the great uncle and model of the duke d'Aiguillon, had made a dreadful uſe of this engine of deſpotiſm. He accordingly deemed it neceſſary to make uſe of every poſſible precaution.

1. He ſignified to theſe gentlemen, that he did not conſider their proceedings in any other light, than that of a mere examination; that it was in conſequence of this he conſented to reply to their queſtions, being firmly perſuaded, that the king was too juſt to refuſe him a trial before a legal tribunal. They at firſt refuſed to admit the inſertion of this article, and exclaimed againſt his diſtruſt. Villevaux ſaid, "Do you imagine, ſir, that we are come here to take you by ſurpriſe?" "It is ſufficient to be taken at all," replied he with great gaiety. At this they laughed, and his proteſt was accordingly regiſtered.

2. As Mr. de Marville wiſhed to dictate the anſwers of the priſoner, he forbad the ſecretary to

to record any thing as coming from him, unleſs uttered by himſelf. The preſident, however, inſiſted, that it was not the cuſtom to do ſo.

"I am ignorant," replied he, "of the uſage of commiſſions, but I do not chooſe either to be condemned or abſolved, except in conſequence of what proceeds from my own mouth. If you do not grant me what is conformable to natural right, I will retire."

"Very well; we ſhall ſit in judgment upon, and try you as one who remains obſtinately mute."

"You are not judges; you are only commiſſioners. You will be more puniſhed in this caſe than me; for as you will not have diſcovered any thing, a new commiſſion muſt be iſſued." They again laughed, and gave up the point.

3. He cauſed a proteſt to be inſerted againſt all ſolicitation or protection in his favour, on the part of his relations, friends, or ſuperiours; and, he added, that he would readily conſole himſelf with whatever might occur, becauſe he hoped that the king would peruſe the interrogatories put to him, and would then diſcover who were his true ſervants.

They then demanded if he knew the reaſon

of

of his being impriſoned in the Baſtille? "I am in doubt as to this matter," replied he; "but this is a queſtion that ſavours ſtrongly of the inquiſition. Come, gentlemen, it is I who defend the place, and it is you who are to give the firſt fire." They now laughed heartily, and, in general, the whole of this proceſs was attended with much merriment.

They afterwards aſked the reaſon of his intended journey to Pruſſia? He replied, "That it was with an intention to ſee a great king and fine troops."

"Why were you furniſhed with a letter from Favier to prince Henry?"

"Becauſe I requeſted it of Favier, for whom that prince entertains a great reſpect."

"Did you not intend to make certain propoſitions to that court?"

"What propoſitions? and from whom?"

"On the part of the count de Broglio, or the duke de Choiſeul."

"No; and if you do not explain yourſelves clearly on that ſubject, I ſhall not underſtand you."

"It is known, ſir, that you are eager for a war, as well as the duke de Choiſeul and the count de Broglio, and you might have been employed

employed by them to trouble the repoſe of Europe."

"I do not know of what Meſſrs. de Choiſeul and de Broglio may be deſirous, but at all events I think them too wiſe ever to negotiate in their own names. Beſides, are you acquainted with the king of Pruſſia? How can it ever be ſuppoſed, in caſe two French noblemen were deſperate, and myſelf mad enough, to commence negotiations of any kind, without an official appointment for that purpoſe, that he would have the complaiſance either to alter or vary his politics in conſequence of the inſinuations of a ſimple French colonel? The whole of this is abſurd."

"Have you ever written to the king?"

"To what king?"

"To the king of France?"

"Never; but if I had, who is there that dares to term this criminal?"

"Have you ever ſpoken to him?"

"No."

This was the whole of the firſt interrogatory. A very free and lively converſation then took place, in the courſe of which he demanded the uſe of books, and pen and ink, and alſo requeſted, that he might be ſhaved. Sartines,

tines, who, as lieutenant of the police, had the ſuperintendance of the Baſtille, told him, that this was within his department. On this he very inconſiderately ſaid to him, " Sir, I have ſix thouſand volumes at Verſailles; permit me to give you a liſt of the books which I wiſh to be ſent me." Mr. de Sartines replied very coolly, " You do not recollect, that at your departure you requeſted your aunt to ſell all your books and moveables; you have no longer any left." Dumouriez held down his head, and did not ſay a ſingle word in return; he imagined that his apartment had been ſealed up, and it was not until next day, that Mr. de Sartines told him, that he had invented this ſtory on purpoſe to prevent his brother commiſſioners from ſeizing on his property. This was an eſſential ſervice, which he thus rendered him.

On his leaving the council-chamber, Jumilhac, who, while he waited for him in the hall, had heard them alternately diſputing and laughing, and who ſaw every one ſally forth with a very merry countenance, put a great number of queſtions to him. He then recounted all that had occurred, and the governour, in his turn, informed him of ſome very important events. He learned from him, for the firſt time,

time, that the count de Broglio, having had a very violent diſpute with the duke d'Aiguillon, in conſequence of which he wrote him a very haughty letter, was exiled to his eſtate of Ruffec in the *Angoumois*; that Favier and Segur were in the Baſtille, as well as an old counteſs de Barnaval, the miſtreſs of Segur; that the duke d'Aiguillon wiſhed alſo to impriſon mademoiſelle Legrand, Guibert, Latouch, and all his friends, to make the world believe that there actually had been a plot; that they were ſtill in ſearch of the baron Debon, a major-general in the French ſervice, and one of the count de Broglio's friends; that it had been circulated throughout Paris, that Guibert and Dumouriez had been ſent into Pruſſia for the expreſs purpoſe of engaging Frederick to declare war; and that the duke de Choiſeul was the head of the party, Favier the counſellor, and he himſelf one of the principal agents. He added, that the king had ſaid, that d'Aiguillon would *break his noſe* in the purſuit of this intrigue, and that the whole was a tiſſue of follies; that Mr. de Chauvelin ſtrongly ſupported him with his majeſty (he unfortunately died a few days afterwards of a fit of the apoplexy, in the preſence of Louis XV, who diſplayed the utmoſt inſenſibility); that

in the council Meſſrs. de Soubiſe and Bertin were on his ſide; and that, of the three commiſſioners, Marville was neutral, Sartines for him, and Villevaux directly againſt him. Dumouriez hold of this occaſion to beſeech the king to cauſe the original interrogatories, and not extracts from them, to be preſented to him.

Well pleaſed with the information he had juſt received, he aſcended to his apartment, and made uſe of the tongue of one of his knee-buckles to engrave the interrogatories put to him, and his anſwers, on the wall, every phraſe abbreviated, and in a different language, and he ever afterwards continued to take the ſame precaution, which proved very ſerviceable to him, as it enabled him always to make the ſame replies to the ſame queſtions. He then began to reflect on all that he had heard; he imagined, what proved exactly the caſe, that d'Aiguillon went upon a *falſe ſcent* on purpoſe to diſcover the true one; that knowing there exiſted a ſecret correſpondence between the king and the count de Broglio, and not daring to put any interrogatories relative to this *ſacred ſubject*, he hoped, in the courſe of the proceſs, to learn all the particulars of it. He was in the poſſeſſion of the moſt ample proofs of his having

been employed by the miniſter at war, having gotten the cypher, paſs-port, and inſtructions in his own hands. It was not, however, towards theſe points, that he cauſed the queſtions to be directed, but relative to the permiſſion to go to Pruſſia, and the letter of recommendation from Favier to prince Henry.

In reſpect to Favier, they managed quite in a different manner; he was interrogated about a great and very celebrated political work, which he had compoſed relative to the intereſts of the different powers of Europe; and the journey to Pruſſia was ſcarcely mentioned. As to Segur, he being the perſon merely entruſted with the correſpondence, but little was ſaid to him on that ſubject; he was, however, treated very harſhly on account of the letter which he had written againſt the Dubarry, and the ſongs and ſatires of the day, which were found upon him when arreſted.

It accordingly happened, that the king was not deceived; the duke d'Aiguillon, who wiſhed to convert the whole into a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, after making a great noiſe, found himſelf exceedingly embarraſſed; and if the marquis de Monteynard, who did not ſtir in the matter, and who, as Dumouriez jocularly

larly obſerved to Meſſrs. de Sartines and Jumilhac, appeared like a peaſant who wanted to dance on the ſlack rope with wooden ſhoes, had evinced ſufficient boldneſs, and followed the advice of the prince de Condé, his protector, d'Aiguillon would have been ruined. It has been aſſerted, that it was the intention of the latter to have cut off the heads of the count de Broglio, and the three other priſoners, in imitation of his great uncle; but, however weak the king might be, he was not ſo much devoted to his miniſter, as Louis XIII was to the cardinal; this proceſs, therefore, muſt neceſſarily degenerate into a puerile intrigue.

Theſe reflections comforted him in regard to his lot. Next morning Mr. de Sartines came to ſee him, and he continued to do ſo once every week. He chided Dumouriez for his imprudence relative to his library, recommended him to be *diſcreet*, aſked for a liſt of the books which he wanted, ſent them to him, and ordered him to be ſupplied with pens, ink, and paper. From that moment he was extremely happy.

He reflected a good deal on the circumſtance of his having recommended him to be *diſcreet*. It was not, however, until ſome time after, that

he was able to develope this enigma. The king had been alarmed during the whole courſe of the proceſs, leſt he ſhould declare, that the journey, which occaſioned his impriſonment, had been undertaken in conſequence of his own expreſs orders. He was very careful on this point, for he imagined, that his majeſty would have diſavowed the whole tranſaction, and then he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice. Monteynard's fate affords the fulleſt demonſtration of this, for Louis was weak enough to diſmiſs him and confer his place on d'Aiguillon, rather than acknowledge, that this miniſter had acted in conſequence of his orders. What meanneſs in a king! How dangerous was the confidence of ſuch a prince! This very Louis XV continued to carry on his correſpondence as uſual with that ſame count de Broglio, whom he retained in exile at Rusfec.

Dumouriez did not find time tedious in the Baſtille. He directed his ſtudies to four principal ſubjects; mathematics, hiſtory and politics, morals, and travels. The latter is particularly conſolatory, when a man is deprived of liberty. It throws a new intereſt into this ſolitary and monotonous kind of exiſtence, and makes the hours paſs rapidly away; and it has this advantage

vantage over romances, that it impreſſes an uſeful leſſon for the reſt of his life. It was in the Baſtille, that he carried the art of living alone to a great degree of perfection. It was there, that he ſtrengthened his reſolutions to communicate his real thoughts to but few perſons, and to aſſume the appearance of taciturnity, and even of languor in great aſſemblies, and in the midſt of public feſtivities. He learned there, alſo, to be able to live independent of mankind; and yet the gaiety and frankneſs of his character have preſerved him from that miſanthropy, which often reſults from ſecluſion. In ſhort, he accuſtomed himſelf to remain for a long time without ſeeing his beſt friends; but above all, he acquired an invincible repugnance for what is termed the great world.

The commiſſioners did not return until the end of a fortnight. They no longer mentioned the journey to Pruſſia, a circumſtance which he remarked to them.

"It appears to me," ſaid he, "that you abandon your firſt attack; let us ſee where you intend to open your next battery?" They laughed. They then preſented to him his inſtructions, paſs-ports, and cypher, and aſked what he had done in reſpect to that ſubject?

" Nothing at all," replied he, " for the revolution in Sweden has been completed in a peaceable manner. As to the reſt, gentlemen, I have nothing more to ſay on that head. I have rendered an account to my own miniſter, and it belongs to him to relate to the king what I was to have done in conſequence of his orders; this matter concerns him alone, and he is in poſſeſſion of my letters." He was not at all ſorry to ſet the two miniſters by the ears, hoping in that caſe that Monteynard would defend him by way of defending himſelf.

A conſiderable ſilence now enſued, during which Villevaux ſpoke for a long time in whiſpers to Marville, who all of a ſudden, in a ſevere and even brutal, but agitated tone, ſaid to him, " Do you hate the duke d'Aiguillon?" On this Dumouriez aroſe, took hold of one of the ſkirts of his coat with both his hands, ſpread it before his eyes, and ſaid to him, ſmiling at the ſame time, " Are you able to read through my coat?" Mr. de Sartines and the ſecretary, on this, laughed aloud.

Marville, more enraged than ever, then continued: " Recollect, ſir, that wits are ſometimes puniſhed; anſwer my queſtion." Dumouriez, reſuming a grave tone of voice, then

rejoined: "Conſider this matter once more, Mr. de Marville, for you ſurely cannot put ſuch a queſtion to me ſeriouſly."

"Sir, I command you to anſwer it."

"Dare but to let it be written down, and I ſhall anſwer it inſtantly."

On this they all ſpoke at once. Mr. de Villevaux cried out, "There is no occaſion to inſert it."

"It ſhall be inſerted; I inſiſt upon it."

"What! you inſiſt upon it?"

"Yes; it ſhall be written."

"It ſhall not." A freſh diſpute now enſued.

Dumouriez, become impatient, at length ſaid to Mr. de Villevaux, "There are here two counſellors of ſtate, and you are only a maſter of requeſts, you can only act as a prompter at moſt; you may therefore as well be ſilent."

"You are too fool-hardy."

"And you are a mere Marplot."

After this, turning towards the ſecretary, a very amiable and ſprightly man, he ſaid to him, "For God's ſake, ſir, do not inſert all this traſh."

"I ſhall take care of that," replied he, with a laugh.

Mr. de Sartines, who, during the whole of this diſpute, had never once altered his formal, cold, and ſimpering countenance, obſerved to Marville, "In truth the gentleman has a right to inſiſt on a queſtion's being written down, before he makes any reply to it."

"Very well," cries Marville with an oath, at the ſame time ſwelling with anger, "it ſhall be ſo. Do you hate the duke d'Aiguillon?"

"I neither love nor hate the duke d'Aiguillon, with whom I am but very little acquainted. But as I entertain the hope, while defending myſelf, to make his majeſty acquainted with the manner in which he is ſerved by his miniſter for foreign affairs, I ſhall here deliver in eight ſeparate charges againſt him on the ſubject of his miniſterial miſconduct.

"You have not been interrogated on that point," replied Marville.

"You have no right to interrupt me. I have a right to form my own anſwer, and to inſert in it whatever I pleaſe. It is more directly to the point than you may imagine; and you will ſerve the king but badly, if you throw any obſtacle in the way of it."

On this he dictated eight very ſtrong charges, in which were included all the abſurd political meaſures

meaſures that had been adopted by the miniſter. This anſwer filled ten pages. They afterwards converſed very amicably together, and it was propoſed to him to ſuppreſs the whole of that day's proceedings; he, however, refuſed this, and they ſigned the regiſter. On their ſeparating, Marville, who by this time had become quite calm, exclaimed, "Upon my word, if they thought to catch a chicken, they will at leaſt find it a very tough one!"

He had been now full ſix weeks in priſon, but was not in the leaſt diſcontented at his lot, thanks to his books, of which he received as many as he choſe to aſk for. He was allowed every day an hour to walk about, either on the top of the battlements, whence he had a view of all Paris, or in the court below; the latter of which he preferred, becauſe, under pretext of the cold, he could ſlip into the council-chamber and read the gazettes, notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibition to the contrary; for an old adjutant, named Falconnet, the moſt humane of all men living, affected to leave them in a careleſs manner on the chimney-piece, during the time allowed him for exerciſe. He ſaw Mr. de Sartines regularly once every week, and the governour almoſt every morning, and he cultivated

cultivated the friendſhip of the major, who, at the bottom, was a good man. He was alſo beloved by the company of invalids, and knew the names of all of them, many having ſerved along with him during the ſeven years war. The whole of this company conſiſted of ſub-altern officers, and they ſtill retained their former ranks and honours. In ſhort, he was as happy as it was poſſible to be in a priſon; when his ſituation appeared likely to become very diſagreeable, in conſequence of one of thoſe adventures, of which there are but too many examples in a jail.

The turnkey, who waited upon him, was a very tall, ſtrong, brutal, and inſolent man; he refuſed to make his bed, but he eaſily conſoled himſelf for this neglect, and never let ſlip any occaſion to treat him harſhly. Occupied entirely with his proceſs, and his ſtudies, he had determined to exerciſe his patience, and to refrain from complaint; he even laughed frequently at the brutality of this man, who was an exact repreſentation of the jailor in the comedy.

The ſeaſon having become cold and rainy, and his chamber damp, he had requeſted the major to order a glazier to paſte over with paper

paper the two higher pannels of his caſement. This was promiſed to be complied with, and the day accordingly fixed. Every little occurrence forms an epoch in the life of a priſoner, and he is affected by the moſt trifling events, more eſpecially when his mind is wholly occupied in ſtemming the current of oppreſſion.

The glazier did not come; he was promiſed during three days ſucceſſively, that he ſhould be ſent for, and thrice was he deceived. At length, one morning he aſked the turnkey, with much mildneſs, the reaſon of this delay.

On this, he exclaimed in the moſt brutal manner, "Dam——n! they pay but too much attention to ſuch a thing as *thee!*"

Surpriſed at this conduct, he fixed his eyes upon him to ſee if he were drunk, and found that he was not. He then told him, that he would complain of his conduct; on this, the *animal* overwhelmed him with a torrent of abuſe, advancing at the ſame time towards him. There was no kind of equality whatever between this coloſſus and Dumouriez, who is very little, but at the ſame time muſculous, and adroit. At this moment, his paſſion got the upper hand, and that to ſuch a degree, that he

ran

ran towards the chimney, ſeized on a blazing fire-brand, and ſtruck the turnkey with it acroſs the breaſt. They then both called out for aſſiſtance, and the guard having arrived, he reſumed his uſual temper, and demanded to be conducted before the officers of the Baſtille.

The major heard him with much coolneſs, and told him that he was in the wrong to ſtrike any perſon belonging to the king, as he might have complained of his conduct.

—" What, Sir! was I to have waited until he had ſtruck me?"

—" He would not have dared to do it."

—" It very luckily happens, major, that you are only an inferiour officer. I will not leave this apartment until I have ſeen the governor."

" It would ſeem, ſir, that you wiſh to give orders here."

" No, but I will receive them only from the governour, and I know how to make myſelf reſpected every where." As the invalids deteſted the major, a ſerjeant belonging to that *corps* inſtantly ran, and informed Mr. de Jumilhac of every thing that had occurred. During this interval, the major had commanded the

the priſoner to return to his chamber, and he, holding faſt by the table, exclaimed, that he would ſooner be cut in pieces. The good adjutant and the invalids in the mean time endeavoured to reconcile them.

Jumilhac having now entered, Dumouriez threw himſelf into his arms, and related the whole adventure; he at the ſame time requeſted him to hear what the turnkey had to ſay in his juſtification. The fellow was fooliſh enough to acknowledge, that he had made uſe of the word *thee* *, and the governour, on hearing this, inſtantly gave orders to the major to diſcharge him. The unfortunate man, on this fell upon his knees; he was the father of a family. Dumouriez interceded in his favour; the governor inſiſted upon his being at leaſt confined in the dungeon: he however perſevered, and in conſequence of his careſſes and entreaties, at laſt ſucceeded in obtaining his pardon. Jumilhac made up the diſpute between him and the major, the invalids evinced a greater attachment to him than ever, and Belot, for that was the name of the poor fellow,

* *Toi*; this expreſſion was never made uſe of but when ſpeaking to inferiours.—*Tranſ.*

became

became more attentive than any domeſtick that ever waited upon him. The glazier made his appearance in the courſe of that day.

Mr. de Sartines paid many compliments to him next day on his proweſs, and ſtill more on his humanity; the king himſelf was alſo made acquainted with this circumſtance, for he received information of every thing relative to his impriſonment. This monarch, who was rendered unhappy by mere laſſitude and ſatiety, cauſed a note to be tranſmitted to him every morning, from the police, containing an account of all the adventures that occurred in Paris, even the moſt trifling ones. If, on his death, the Jacobins had laid their hands upon theſe notes, and cauſed them to be printed, in conformity to their practice, there would have been ſufficient to have deſtroyed the honour of one half of the families in Paris. In other reſpects, Louis XV was very diſcreet, and exceedingly indulgent: he himſelf, indeed, ſtood in need of the indulgence of all; therefore, although deſpiſed, he was not hated.

A few days afterwards, the commiſſioners again arrived, and proceeded to buſineſs; this was the third time. After about a quarter of an hour's converſation, Mr. de Sartines delivered a ſpeech.

a ſpeech. He began by making an eulogium on the wit, talents, and extraordinary acquirements of the priſoner; he then ſaid to him in a very ſevere tone of voice: "Endowed with all theſe qualities which we have diſcovered in you, you yourſelf, ſir, muſt acknowledge, that you have been guilty of the crime of high treaſon, in the ſtricteſt acceptation of the term; you cannot be ignorant, that every act of the miniſter is ſanctioned by the king and council, and that nothing is decided upon until his majeſty has aſſented to it; it is therefore againſt him that your libel on the duke d'Aiguillon is directed.

He here pauſed, and his two colleagues already began to enjoy Dumouriez' confeſſion, who, without even looking at them, addreſſed the following anſwer to the ſecretary.

"I have learned from the king himſelf, to diſtinguiſh between his own ſacred perſon, and that of his miniſters, and alſo to attribute to themſelves their good or bad adminiſtration; for during the ſeventeen years that I have been in his ſervice, his majeſty has either diſgraced, or diſmiſſed twenty-ſix of them." Mr. de Villevaux here wiſhed, as uſual, to enter into a diſſertation. On this, Dumouriez replied with great vivacity:

vacity: "Pray, ſir, be ſilent, for you conſtantly interrupt our buſineſs, on purpoſe to introduce your own ſophiſms. We are not at preſent employed in a logical diſcuſſion. You have nothing to add to Mr. de Sartines' queſtion, or I to my own anſwer," After this, carried away by a ſudden emotion, he entered into a very affecting account of his devotion for his country, and his reſpect for his king. The tears came into the eyes of Mr. de Sartines, Marville, and Beaumont; he himſelf was much moved, and thus, the very circumſtance that had been urged with an intent to terrify him, terminated in eulogiums, for as to the reſt of the converſation, there was nothing intereſting in it, and this was the only part that was taken down in writing.

The more that this proceſs began to be developed, it became leſs and leſs dangerous; in ſhort, it was nothing elſe than a mere court intrigue, calculated either to procure the diſgrace of the duke d'Aiguillon, ſhould the prince de Condé's party prove ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport Monteynard, or to ruin Monteynard, if the Dubarry ſtill continued to govern Louis XV. Dumouriez, in the latter caſe, expected to become the victim; but as theſe intrigues had

had never hitherto been accompanied with cruelty, he was in no fear either for his life, or his honour.

He was young, and he only foreſaw a temporary calamity, againſt which he armed himſelf with philoſophy and ſtudy. Sooner or later, he ſhould get out of priſon, and in the end, muſt at all events be the gainer; he therefore neither experienced ſolicitude, nor uneaſineſs. In fine, he only felt ſome momentary torments, inflicted on him by the warmth of his own temperament; but as he had not any fixed attachment, theſe were nothing more than vague deſires, which were ſoon diſſipated by reading. This period of his life was far from being unfortunate; it flew away with uncommon rapidity.

He had been nearly two months a priſoner, when he underwent his fourth and laſt examination. The commiſſioners having made a brief recapitulation of what had occurred during their former viſits, Marville announced to him, that Favier and Segur were committed to the Baſtille, and that the count de Broglio was ſent into exile. He affected great aſtoniſhment at this circumſtance, that he might not betray his friend Jumilhac. Marville then ſaid to him: "What

was the nature of the connection between you and the count de Broglio?"

"It was such as was very likely to take place between a colonel and a general of great merit, who is brother to a marshal of France, celebrated for his victories."

"What intimacy subsisted between you, and Favier, and Segur?"

"One of a very long standing. I have endeavoured to reap profit from the abilities of the first, in order to acquire knowledge in political subjects. I knew the second in Spain; he is a brave man, was my *aide-de-camp* in Poland, and returned along with me to Paris."

—"Do you know a certain countess de Barneval?"

—"Not in the least; I never saw her but once, but I believe she is one of Segur's old friends."

—"Have you any connection with these persons?"

—"Never with the lady, little with Favier, but a good deal with Segur, who was intrusted with the management of my private affairs at Paris."

"Very well, sir; now please to look at the frightful

frightful correſpondence which you have kept up with him."

—" Are theſe my letters?"

—" No, but they are his, which have been intercepted."

—" In that caſe, I could never have received them. Will you permit me to read them?"

—" Yes."

He then read them very coolly, and ſaid:

" Theſe letters are exceedingly imprudent; they reſemble Segur's hand, but they may have been forged."

—" He has acknowledged them."

—" So much the worſe; but what is all this to me?"

—" What, ſir, is it not likely that a man to whom he could write ſuch letters, was at leaſt deficient in point of reſpect to the king?"

—" No, ſir; but I perceive that you yourſelf are wanting in reverence to his majeſty, by urging queſtions of this nature, which can only tend to wound his dignity. Let us reſpect his attachments, his pleaſures, the ſecrets of his domeſtic life; I oppoſe the inſertion of ſuch imprudent queſtions, and if you inſiſt, I ſhall find means to make him acquainted with

my proteſt againſt them. At the commencement of the proceſs, you affected to diſcover crimes againſt the ſtate; not being able to ſucceed in this, there ſeems to be an intention to entangle me in lewd ſtories, and alſo to involve his majeſty. If a ſingle word relative to this ſubject be committed to writing, I ſhall put in ſuch a proteſt as will not very readily be forgotten." Accordingly, not a ſingle word was inſerted.

Marville, after a few moments reflection, then addreſſed him as follows: " Sir, you are in the right; I diſcover you to be a very intereſting perſon, and a good ſervant to the king. Our buſineſs is now concluded. Favier, notwithſtanding his great talents, at one time exhibited a certain degree of weakneſs, and as for Segur, he is a hot-headed fellow, whom I exhort you to baniſh from your ſociety."

He was in the right; Segur had been exceedingly indiſcreet, and it is to the bounty alone of Louis XV, that he was indebted for his liberty. This atribilarious man afterwards returned to Spain, where he procured himſelf an untimely death, in conſequence of pamphlets and ſpeeches againſt the court of Madrid.

Dumouriez had, long before that time, followed the advice of Marville, and ceaſed to ſee him.

Such was the concluſion of the proceſs commenced and finiſhed in the Baſtille. The commiſſioners took their leave of him with many compliments, but Marville reſerved a very ill natured one. "You poſſeſs courage," ſaid he, with much ill timed jocularity; "I will not therefore conceal from you, that Mr. de Monteynard has been diſgraced, that the duke d'Aiguillon is more powerful than ever, and that he unites the war department with that for foreign affairs: you are therefore entirely in his power. You may accordingly lay your account to remain in priſon for at leaſt ten years."

Dumouriez on this replied: "Mr. de Marville, you have ſurely read Fontaine's fables; do you recollect that of the emperor, the mountebank, and the aſs. Before the expiration of ten years, the one half of you will not be in life, much leſs in office. *Nota Bene*, you yourſelf are more than ſeventy years of age." Marville embraced him, and exclaimed: "He is always the ſame, to the very laſt chapter!"

When Dumouriez returned to his own apartment, ſome very melancholy reflections occurred, in conſequence of the intelligence he had juſt received. But, as this was one of the hypotheſes which had long ſince entered into his calculations, his mind ſoon became occupied about the means only of ſoftening the rigours of an impriſonment, which he ſuſpected would be of conſiderable duration. He was certain of the friendſhip of Jumilhac, whoſe conduct had not in the leaſt varied. He was doubtful, however, in reſpect to Sartines, to whom he did great injuſtice, for he rendered him the moſt eſſential ſervices until the very laſt.

His mind was now entirely employed in maturing two projects, in the ſucceſs of which he was greatly intereſted. One was to get poſſeſſion of a better chamber, and the other to have his domeſtics along with him: he had often bethought himſelf of this before, but the hope of a ſpeedy deliverance had hitherto prevented his ſolicitations.

He accordingly ſpoke to his friend Jumilhac on this ſubject, who told him, that he himſelf could not interfere in this buſineſs, but that he would mention it to Sartines. The latter obſerved,

ſerved, that his removal muſt be authoriſed by the miniſter for Paris. This miniſter was St. Florentin, duke de la Vrillière, the baſeſt, and the moſt permanent of all the miniſters of Louis XV. He was alſo d'Aiguillon's uncle; ſo that he had nothing to hope from that quarter. On this he ſaid to Mr. de Sartines with a ſmile: "My apartment being very ancient, if any accident ſhould occur ſo as to render it uninhabitable, what will you do?"

"In that caſe, you ſhall inſtantly be removed to another, and as there is no danger attendant on it, I will engage to give you the beſt one in the Baſtille."

—"Will you be ſo good as to iſſue orders to this purpoſe, to Mr. de Jumilhac, on your departure?"

—"Moſt willingly."

—"You promiſe me this?"

—"I pledge my word to it."

He now began to form the very extraordinary project, of rendering his chamber completely ruinous. The walls were too thick for him to hope he ſhould ever be able to pull them down, more eſpecially as he was not in poſſeſſion of any iron inſtrument. The doors were fortified by means of bars and plates of

iron, and it would have been impoſſible to have forced them open; beſide this, he did not wiſh to evince the leaſt ſymptom of a diſpoſition to eſcape. He had luckily remarked, that the hearth on which his fire was made, inclined to one ſide. This hearth, which conſiſted of two large ſtones joined together at the centre, leaned againſt a beam, which the extreme heat had reduced to a charcoal. He naturally imagined that there was a vacuity below.

One morning, or rather one night, for it was only two o'clock, he forced up the flooring of his apartment, and diſcerning the beam under the hearth, he inſtantly perceived with great joy, that he was not miſtaken in his conjecture; he then converted a billet of wood into a battering ram, and having diſplaced the rubbiſh below the two ſtones, he continued to make a hole there, which having emptied with his hands, by means of redoubled blows with his wooden inſtrument, he was at length able to burſt through the cieling of the chamber immediately below him.

This operation, which did not take up more than four hours, at length exhibited a moſt deplorable ſpectacle. It was that of a perſon of about fifty years of age, naked as when firſt born,

born, with a very long grey beard, and his hair ſtanding on end, who howling like a madman, daſhed the gravel at him with great violence through the hole whence it had dropped. He wiſhed to ſpeak to this unhappy wretch, but he found that he was an idiot. He learned afterwards that he was called Euſtachius Farey, a gentleman of Picardy, and captain in the regiment of Piedmont, who had been confined twenty-two years in the Baſtille, for having either compoſed or diſtributed a ſong againſt *madame* Pompadour.

Having at length contrived to force the two large ſtones and the gravel through the hole, he waſhed his hands in the beſt manner that he could, for his fingers were torn and bled conſiderably; he then called to the ſentinel through his window, and deſired him to awaken the turnkey. On his arrival with ſome aſſiſtants, he obſerved that his hearth had fallen in upon his neighbour the fool. Being conducted to the lodge, the governour made his appearance, and he recounted with an air of the utmoſt innocence, the particulars of the unlucky accident, which he attributed to the calcination of the beam by the intenſe heat of the fire, which was thus rendered incapable

incapable of ſupporting the weight of the two large ſtones that had compoſed his hearth. Jumilhac, who ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion, obſerved, that it would be neceſſary to ſend workmen immediately into that chamber, and that in the mean time he ſhould be removed to the apartment called the chapel. While preparations were making for his reception, he ſhewed his hands to his friend, and acknowledged the trick that he had played. That excellent man immediately embraced him, and replied with great good humour: "I ſhall moſt readily be your accomplice, my boy, provided you always make me your confident."

There was an anti-chamber to this new apartment, which was a very good one, about twenty-ſix feet long, and eighteen broad, with an excellent fire place. It however had but one window, a circumſtance that rendered it dark; near to the chimney was a very excellent, and exceedingly neat bed, which had been procured for a young lady of the name of Tiercelin, one of the miſtreſſes of Louis XV, who had ſpent a month here, becauſe ſhe poſſeſſed too much ambition. The major, on giving Dumouriez poſſeſſion of his new chamber, told him, with a view to ſhew his erudition,

tion, or perhaps to frighten him a little: "This, colonel, is the fineſt room in the whole caſtle, but it is a very inauſpicious one, for the conſtable St. Pol, the marſhal de Biron, the chevalier de Rohan, and general Lally, all of whom reſided here, loſt their heads upon a ſcaffold." He replied, at the ſame time laughing in his face, "I hope, major, you don't wiſh to terrify me?" He has always ſince been the friend of this officer, whoſe name was Chevalier, and two years afterwards, he augmented his ſmall penſion with four hundred *livres* additional income.

He did not find ſo many inſcriptions here as in the third liberty. There were ſome very ſtrong obſervations by the famous Labourdonnaye, three or four ſentences in Engliſh by the unfortunate Lally, and a few paraphraſes of the pſalms by Mr. de la Chalotais. He alſo found the name of Charles de Biron, a duke of Courland, who had been there a little before him. It was under one of de la Chalotais' paraphraſes that Dumouriez engraved the four following lines:

"N'addreſſe point au ciel une plainte importune,
"Et, quelque ſoit le cours de ton ſort incertain,
"Apprens de moi, que l'infortune,
"Eſt le creuſet du cœur humain."

Addreſs

Addreſs to righteous Heaven no one complaint,
Whate'er the ills life's fickle hours impart,
For learn from me, while they thy ſoul torment,
'Tis woe that purifies the human heart.

In 1786 the count d'Artois happening to be at Cherbourg, copied into his pocket-book this quatrain, of which the moral may be applied elſewhere than in priſon, amidſt the merited, or unmerited calamities, which overwhelm our miſerable exiſtence. If theſe memoirs ſhould ever fall into his hands, he will inſtantly recollect theſe verſes. At the time he tranſcribed them, he was far from imagining, that he would be ſome day able to make that application to himſelf.

Dumouriez received much conſolation as ſoon as he found himſelf in poſſeſſion of this warm and commodious chamber, at the outſide of which there was a privy, and the neceſſary conveniencies for keeping it neat and clean. It had not the leaſt reſemblance to a priſon. The double iron doors opened into the anti-chamber, and only a ſimple wooden one was placed at the entrance into the other apartment; this he could unfaſten at pleaſure, to prolong his walk. His new jailor, who was one of Jumilhac's old domeſticks, was very mild and poliſhed in his manners,

ners, and alſo a great talker. He told him many anecdotes concerning all thoſe who had inhabited this chamber during the fifteen years he had been turnkey of the tower to the chapel.

Dumouriez' predeceſſor was a young man, who had been forced to become a monk, and who, having afterwards proteſted againſt the vows he had been obliged to take, on purpoſe to get poſſeſſion of an eſtate, and to eſpouſe a young lady of whom he was fond, was condemned to reſide during two whole years in the Baſtille; at firſt in one of the dungeons, and afterwards in this chamber, where he had compoſed very intereſting memoirs; theſe had procured him his liberty. He preſented a copy of them to his kind jailor, which Dumouriez read with great eagerneſs. This poor unfortunate had been deprived of pen and ink during a year and a half.

This circumſtance ſuggeſted the idea to Dumouriez of preventing his unhappy ſucceſſors from experiencing a ſimilar want. In the four corners of the apartment were four columns that ſupported the ceiling, which was no more than nine feet from the ground. Each column was ſurmounted with the figure of a ſphinx. He climbed up by the aſſiſtance

ance of chairs and tables, and placed in a hollow on the back of each of theſe ſphinxes, an oyſter ſhell full of ink, ſome ſheets of white paper, and ſeveral pens. He has felicitated himſelf during the whole of his life, on account of this benevolent idea.

Mr. de Sartines, who viſited him in his new chamber, laughed heartily at the means by which he had obtained it. A few days after this, he obtained leave for the removal of his two ſervants to this place; they had been kept ſeparate from each other, and treated very ill, although he had repeatedly defired that care might be taken of them.

On their being interrogated relative to the conduct of their maſter at Hamburg, the *valet de chambre* replied with the warmeſt eulogiums. The poſtillion made them laugh by recounting his own adventures at the alehouſes, along with the girls, and at games of chance, and complained bitterly of the very different life he was now forced to lead.

The meeting of theſe three perſons was very tender, and a priſon having rendered them all equal, he received them in the ſame manner as if they had been two of his friends. The great chamber was divided into two by means of a ſheet, and the domeſticks ſlept together

in a bed which was procured for them. From that moment they alſo ſat down at the ſame table, and theſe unfortunate men, who had faſted a good deal lately, were now exceedingly well pleaſed.

He had been accuſtomed to have his dinner and ſupper brought to him at the ſame time, between three or four o'clock in the afternoon. His *valet*, who was a good cook, made him ſome excellent *ragouts*. They were well taken care of, they had always five diſhes for their dinner, and three for ſupper, excluſive of the deſert, which, when ſerved up at the ſame time, gave the whole a magnificent appearance.

He did not long enjoy the exquiſite pleaſure of having ſome one with whom he could laugh, and converſe at his eaſe, for his two companions often became burdenſome to him. The *valet de chambre* was of a melancholy diſpoſition, and he was often obliged to become complaiſant enough, to leave his ſtudies, for the purpoſe of amuſing theſe two perſons; he taught them ſeveral games at cards, and even inſtructed his *valet* in cheſs. He alſo read to them during an hour in the morning, and two at night. The books ſelected for the purpoſe were ſometimes romances,

romances, but oftener travels. He was likewiſe accuſtomed to walk backwards and forwards with them, but, on the whole, he was leſs happy than when alone; their complaints forced him to recollect that he was immured in a priſon, and that their reſidence there was forced, rather than voluntary. In general, to ſupport ſolitude with any tolerable degree of patience, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be a ſimilarity in point of character, education, and rank in life. Navigators are well acquainted with the weariſomeneſs ariſing from a conſtrained union, and in the courſe of long voyages, generally become tired of each other. It is however to be obſerved, that the attachment of theſe two domeſticks, and their attention to their maſter, never once varied. They had attended him during the wars in Corſica and Poland; they were brave and faithful, and had it not been for his marriage, he would have kept them about his perſon during the remainder of his life.

He was confined about this time, during a week, to his bed, by an attack of the *ſciatica*, ariſing from the ſudden tranſition from a very active to a too ſedentary life, and the privation of certain pleaſures, at an age when they become neceſſary.

neceſſary. Their care proved a ſolace to him, and he was exceedingly happy not to have been ſubject to this malady when he was ſhut up by himſelf in his horrid and lonely apartment.

Since they rejoined him, he had altered the hour at which he uſually took his exerciſe; it was now at noon. Priſoners remark every thing, and profit by every thing. Having been until then entirely occupied about his trial, and his ſtudies, he had evinced no curioſity whatever relative to what paſſed around him. He now ceaſed to be ſo inattentive.

It being the winter ſeaſon, as many heaps of wood were brought on every Saturday, to the foot of each tower, as there were apartments inhabited there. By attending to this circumſtance, he learned to calculate the number of his companions in misfortune.

Every day, at noon, the turnkey alſo placed at the foot of each ſtair-caſe, as many baſkets containing plates, as there were priſoners. Theſe were at that time far from being numerous, for there were never more than nineteen during his confinement, and ſeveral days there were but ſeven. Accordingly, this terrible Baſtille, at leaſt at that epoch, did not

ſwallow up ſo many miſerable wretches as was imagined. Since the Jacobins have come into power, notwithſtanding the continual executions that have taken place, the dungeons of Paris always contain three, four, or five thouſand unhappy people, whoſe lives depend upon the turn of a ſtraw.

His domeſtics ſuggeſted to him another important remark. Perſons of conſequence always eat off earthen ware, while the others were ſerved on pewter. Theſe diſcoveries, which he would never have made of his own accord, inſpired him with an idea of opening a correſpondence with Favier; for as to Segur, the commiſſioners, and even Jumilhac, having put him out of conceit with him, although he was ſorry to hear that he ſuffered on his account, he was yet determined not to involve himſelf on account of ſo dangerous a man. He was aſſiſted in his project by a very lucky occurrence. Happening one day to perceive a turnkey carrying a pretty large bag to the tower *de la Bertaudière*, he demanded what it contained. "Lentils," replied the jailor.

—"It would appear that your priſoner is extremely fond of lentils."

—"He eats them at all his meals." As he knew

knew that Favier delighted greatly in this vegetable, he had no manner of doubt, but that he was confined in the tower to which it had been conveyed.

Next day, with the aid of a bit of broken glaſs, he cut a piece of charcoal into the ſhape of a crayon. There were three heaps of wood at the foot of the tower, and he wrote in Engliſh, on the ſide of one of the billets, which had been rendered pretty ſmooth by means of a ſaw: "I am in the chamber called the chapel; anſwer me." He remained for eight days, without receiving any reply. At length, he found one in the ſame language, on one of his own billets. On this, he wrote down on a ſlip of paper, the queſtions put to him in the courſe of the firſt examination, and ſubjoined his anſwers, and having folded it up in the ſhape of a note, he thruſt it into a fiſſure in one of the logs of fire-wood. Favier, for it proved to be him, tranſmitted another in the ſame manner, and they thus informed each other of their ſituation.

He learned, that they had endeavoured to make him acknowledge himſelf the author of the correſpondence that ſubſiſted between the count de Broglio and the king; and that he

and the count had engaged Dumouriez to prevail upon Monteynard to ſend him firſt to Sweden, and afterwards into Pruſſia, with the hope of producing a war. Notwithſtanding his well-known diſpute with the duke de Choiſeul, he had been accuſed of having ſpent three days *incognito* with him at Chanteloup, of having gone, during the preceding ſummer, to ſee Mr. de Voyer at Ormes, and of having viſited the count de Broglio at Ruffec; that he had alſo been ſuſpected as the author of a ſong againſt the Dubarry, which he was ſuppoſed to have written in company with mademoiſelle Legrand, who was on the point of being ſent to the Baſtille, and had actually undergone an examination in her own houſe: he had however proved, by referring to the time when the ſong firſt made its appearance, that he could not have compoſed it; and in the courſe of his interrogations, Marville had confeſſed to him, that his innocence had been recognized reſpecting the ballad, the author of which had been diſcovered, and puniſhed.

Thus the proſecution inſtigated againſt Favier was unſupported by any proof whatever, and d'Aiguillon had been diſappointed in his hopes of diſcovering the clue of a ſtate intrigue,

intrigue, which never exiſted. But he derived one great advantage from this affair, as he forced Louis XV, who neither loved nor eſteemed him, to diſmiſs Monteynard, whoſe probity he reſpected, and to confer the war department upon himſelf, which thus elevated him to the ſame rank as the duke de Choiſeul, whom he had humbled. He was not however entirely ſatisfied, becauſe his malignant mind, and his inordinate ambition, prompted him to inflict *cardinal* vengeance, and to act the ſame part as his great uncle. He was however obliged to remain content with deceiving his maſter, being unable to domineer over him.

Dumouriez employed his time at the Baſtille, in recalling to his memory all that he had ever learned. He wrote a pretty large tract on war, entitled "Military Principles;" and alſo a "Treaty on Legions," with obſervations on the mixture and employment of offenſive and defenſive weapons together, with a new ſyſtem of tacticks adapted to this kind of troops. In addition to this, he undertook another extenſive work, and drew up a preliminary diſcourſe, by way of introduction. He had one day read in Bayle's dictionary, under the article "Perrot d'Ablancourt," that this excellent tranſlator,

who was paſſionately fond of reading books of travels, had undertaken, towards the cloſe of his life, to write a treatiſe on this ſubject. Bayle regretted the want of it.

Dumouriez, to whom his impriſonment gave an almoſt inordinate taſte for this kind of compoſition, formed the plan of a very great moral work; the mode propoſed, was to peruſe all the travels during each century, in any particular country. China for example, and to compare the genius, and the progreſs of the arts in the courſe of each hundred years, as well in the nation viſited by the traveller, as in his own native country. It was neceſſary for this purpoſe to form a correct ſummary of all ſuch books, and then to compare them together. A man muſt be in the Baſtille to undertake a work of this kind, which he termed, "A Philoſophical Eſſay on Travels." He alſo drew up "a political and commercial memorial relative to Hamburg, and Lower Saxony," and completed a tranſlation, into French verſe, of the twenty-fifth canto of Morgante Maggiore.

He did not find time tedious, but he wiſhed to be reſtored to liberty; at the end of every fortnight, he therefore entruſted de Sartines

with a letter for the king, in which he ſupplicated him, as his examination was concluded, to nominate judges, that his fate might be decided upon in a legal manner. At length, his majeſty took upon him to order the duke d'Aiguillon to make a report on this affair to the council; he added at the ſame time: "The priſoners are not guilty, and they have ſuffered but too long." D'Aiguillon was too good a courtier not to know the meaning of all this. His report, which afterwards fell into Dumouriez' hands, was accordingly very mild; he obſerved in reſpect to him, that he was a good officer, but exceedingly petulant, very dangerous, and incapable of ſubordination; he propoſed, that he ſhould be exiled from Paris during the ſpace of three months, becauſe he had too many acquaintances there, a circumſtance that would produce freſh offences on his part. The prince de Soubiſe undertook the defence of Dumouriez, and teſtified his ſervices during the ſeven years war. The king ſaid: "I know him to be a good officer, and it is my deſire that his rank and appointments be continued to him." The duke d'Aiguillon aſſured his majeſty, that ſo far from entertaining any rancour againſt him, he would propoſe to

his majeſty to employ him in a ſuitable manner, at the end of three months. It would have been far more noble to have done ſo then.

They afterwards deliberated on the place of his exile. The king ſaid: "Let him be ſent to the caſtle of Caen; it is a good city, and he ſhall have the whole of Normandy for his priſon." Favier was confined in the caſtle of Doulens; Segur was ſent to a fort in the Pyrenees, and the count de Broglio was ſuffered to remain at Ruffec.

Such was the concluſion of an affair, that had occaſioned him to be immured in the Baſtille; it was nothing more than a ſilly court intrigue, in which Dumouriez was made to act the part of the page to Louis XIV, who was whipt by way of correcting his maſter. There was neither conſpiracy, nor ſecret, nor myſtery, in the whole of the pretended plot. Had there been any intrigue at Paris, Dumouriez, who was at two hundred leagues diſtance, muſt have been ignorant of it. His miſſion was very ſimple in its nature, and his ſtay at Hamburg was merely occaſioned by the pacifick termination of the revolution in Sweden. His motive for travelling into Pruſſia originated in a very natural deſire to ſtudy the character of the king,

whom

whom he admired in ſo many points of view. He had kept up no correſpondence whatever with the count de Broglio and Favier, who were even ignorant of his miſſion. The count de Broglio and Monteynard were embroiled together; the count de Broglio and Favier had quarrelled with the duke de Choiſeul, and Dumouriez, on his part, had not kept up any connection with this great miniſter, although he was much attached to him. It is thus that the public is often deceived relative to the importance of thoſe affairs that occur at courts. It is thus alſo, that the time deſtined for the government of empires is often fooled away. The tricks of intriguing women often convert kings into monſters, whom they conſtantly endeavour to deceive, and ſometimes to intimidate. Monarchs have one infallible mode of judging in ſuch caſes, and alſo of avoiding the diſgrace of being the dupes of thoſe by whom they are ſurrounded: this is, to calculate the perſonal intereſt of the accuſer, and the talents of the accuſed. If the latter poſſeſs merit, it is to be preſumed, that his enemy wiſhes to erect a wall of calumny between him and his maſter, for fear he ſhould be cruſhed by his merit. But few kings adopt this manner

of

of aſcertaining the truth. The wiſe man defends himſelf when he is accuſed, but he afterwards flees from the abode of untruth, where the unhappy monarchs remain for ever ſhut up. It is in the wrong to murmur againſt them. They poſſeſs the weakneſs attached to humanity; and the priſon, through which they ſurvey both men and things, conſtantly tints them with falſe colours.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Caſtle of Caen. His Marriage.

DUMOURIEZ had been confined in the Baſtille during the ſpace of ſix months, two or three days excepted, when Mr. de Sartines called upon, and announced to him, that he was about to leave his priſon, in order to repair to the caſtle of Caen. This intelligence did not produce any pleaſure, as it proved to him, that Louis XV was a very weak monarch, and a very ſorry ſupport to thoſe whom he eſteemed and protected, all the favour which he had procured for him being no more than to change the place of his impriſonment. He did not however communicate theſe reflections to Mr. de Sartines, to whom he returned his moſt ſincere thanks. He ſpent the greater part of that day with the governor, whom he really regretted to leave, and to whom he always teſtified his gratitude during the remainder of his life.

Before his departure, he wrote on the baſe of

of each column, "ſearch above for the explanation of the *enigma*;" and on the back of one of the ſphinxes he left a ſhort direction, relative to the manner of keeping up a correſpondence by means of billets of wood. He recompenſed the turnkeys for the civilities they had ſhewn him, and he alſo beſtowed a ſmall gratification on each of his friends belonging to the *corps* of invalids. On reſtoring his effects to him, they required his ſignature to an oath, by which he engaged never to reveal what he had either ſeen or experienced in the Baſtille; he however conſidered this as a mere *formula*, which did not bind him to any thing. Mr. de Sartines, either in conſequence of orders, or of his own accord, permitted his papers to be removed, without being previouſly inſpected.

An exempt belonging to the police arrived early next morning, on purpoſe to conduct him to the place of his exile, and he was kind enough to reſtore him his arms. This perſon, whoſe name was Maret, proved of a very amiable diſpoſition. He was only accompanied by one follower, or *archer*, who was diſguiſed as a ſervant.

They followed the road leading to Caen, whither they arrived on the third day, at ſeven o'clock

o'clock in the morning. The chevalier de Canchy, who was the *commandant* of the caſtle, had been informed before hand of his coming, and by noon, Dumouriez found the apartments intended for him, which were in his own houſe, prepared for his reception. They conſiſted of ſeveral very neat rooms, and a very handſome private garden. He made an agreement with him for his board, and that of his ſervants, at two hundred and fifty livres a month; this was a greater ſum than the whole amount of the appointments of this officer, who was a very excellent man. He found himſelf as agreeably ſituated in this place as if he had been in the country. The caſtle, which was ſurrounded by trees, was ſpacious, the air ſalubrious, and its inhabitants very agreeable. It was there that he formed a laſting connexion with the viſcounteſs de Mathan, an uncommonly amiable lady, who had a very ſplendid houſe. He lived entirely at his eaſe, and left the caſtle whenever he pleaſed, either to viſit the city, or the country; he would have taken but little advantage of this liberty, if his couſin had not reſided ſo near him. There is ſome foundation in the remark, that the actions which decide

our fate, are written beforehand in the book of deſtiny.

For the laſt twelve years, theſe two perſons had been ſeparated from each other, without its being poſſible to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould ever meet again. *Mademoiſelle* de Broiſſy had taken the veil; being afterwards obliged, on account of her health, to relinquiſh this too rigorous ſtate of life, ſhe had retired into a convent called the Magdalen, where ſhe lived in the practice and reputation of the moſt auſtere devotion. After having twice refuſed the ſolicitations of her couſin, ſhe trembled on hearing that he was brought by virtue of a *lettre de cachet* to the caſtle of Caen; but conſidering this circumſtance as a proof that he was ſent thither by God, ſhe ſummoned up all the force of her religion, on purpoſe to defend herſelf againſt a paſſion of long ſtanding, and which ſhe now believed to be nearly extinct; a whole battalion of ex-jeſuits and devotees at the ſame time rallied around her, in order to fortify her courage.

On his part, he did not reflect without repugnance on the neceſſity he was under of viſiting ſo devout a relation, whom he had

once

once tenderly loved, but from whom he had entirely detached himſelf, at her own requeſt. He imagined, that, in a provincial city, where his couſin had acquired as much celebrity in her way, as he had done in his, the eyes of every body would be fixed on them, and that they would become the ſubject of general converſation. He lamented the choice that had been made of the caſtle of Caen, above all other places in the kingdom, on purpoſe as it were to throw him into ſo embarraſſing a ſituation. It had been circulated all over the country, that the rigorous devotion of his couſin, and all her maladies, proceeded ſolely from the deſpair of ſeeing herſelf abandoned. If he did not viſit her, he would be conſidered as a monſter, more eſpecially in the eyes of the women. Beſides, why ſhould not he viſit her? He was no longer amorous, and ſhe was his couſin german, and had actually ſuffered greatly on his account. Theſe conſiderations, and many others of the kind, agitated him during three whole days in ſuch a manner, that he was incapable of coming to any determination.

On the fourth, after having intimated his deſign beforehand, he called upon her at ten o'clock in the morning; ſhe was alone. On his

his entrance, they trembled like two criminals; as for his part, he could only ſay: "Oh! how you are changed! but I love you ſtill." In truth, he no longer recognized the ſame perſon. The ſmall-pox had enlarged all her features, ſhe was thirty years old, and was moſt frightfully lean. After becoming a little calm, they reaſoned on their ſituation, and agreed to ſee one another but ſeldom. Never were more ſincere proteſtations of friendſhip made than at the very moment when they were arranging meaſures for their ſeparation. Finding themſelves much conſoled by this reſolution, they reſumed their former familiarity; he afterwards dined in company with her and one of her friends, and returned to the caſtle very well pleaſed with what had been decided upon.

The legion of Lorraine, to which he had been attached, was quartered at Falaiſe. The officers of this *corps*, conducted by the count de Viomeſnil their colonel, Badignan the colonel *en ſecond*, Choiſy the lieutenant colonel, who had returned from Poland with a red ribband, and the rank of brigadier, and Villeraux the major. Viomeſnil brought horſes for Dumouriez, and prevailed upon him to ſpend ſome time along with

with them. As the chevalier de Canchy did not oppoſe it, he accordingly accompanied them, being exceedingly happy to remove to a diſtance from his couſin. He paſſed a week with his brother officers: captain Montigny, whom he had cauſed to be appointed to a company in this regiment, on purpoſe to carry his "inſtructions for the light troops" into execution, had ſucceeded in his attempt. He accordingly enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing his ſyſtem adopted, and, in conformity to its principles, cauſed mock fights and ſkirmiſhes to be practiſed by the troops. He alſo made ſome additions to the original plan; and at the expiration of eight days, he had determined to remain another week, when he learned that his couſin had been ſeized with a miliary fever, and that her malady wore a very dangerous aſpect.

On this, he inſtantly returned to Caen. The convent in which ſhe lived not being very ſtrict, he became her nurſe during the ſpace of twenty-eight days. He entered her bedchamber at ſeven o'clock every morning, and never ſtirred from it until eight at night; every thing was adminiſtered to her by his own hand. He had conjectured, what was indeed true, that this diſeaſe, the germ of which, however, lurked

in her blood, as ſhe had been already ſeized with it ſeven times, and it was now epidemical at Caen, was occaſioned by the revolution which their meeting had produced in a mind replete with ſenſibility, and by the violence of the efforts made by her to ſtifle her own feelings.

He himſelf was no longer amorous; but a tender eſteem had replaced this unruly paſſion. He accordingly determined to terminate, by marriage, a ſituation ſo painful for them both. Of his patrimony, no more than a thouſand livres a year remained; this joined to ſix thouſand in appointments, produced an income of only ſeven thouſand *francs*. She herſelf poſſeſſed no more than twelve hundred and fifty *livres* yearly; but her mother being aged, they were certain of ſucceeding to ſeven or eight thouſand livres a year at her death. He waited for her convaleſcence, and then by mere dint of argument obtained her conſent. He was forced to become theologian and caſuiſt, and to diſpute with the principal doctors of Caen, in order to remove the ſcruples of his couſin.

His ſiſter, the baroneſs de Schomberg, had given him a very ſtrong proof of her friendſhip, by ſoliciting the duke d'Aiguillon in his behalf; this was done, however, in a very noble manner.

ner. The duke had the baſeneſs to reply to her one day when ſhe preſſed him on this ſubject:

"You are in the wrong, madam, to be ſo uneaſy about your brother, as he diverts himſelf very agreeably in the Baſtille, and is always gay." On this, ſhe rejoined with much dignity: "Very well, *monſieur le duc*, this is a proof that he has not any thing to reproach his conſcience with, and alſo an additional reaſon for your doing him juſtice, by reſtoring him to liberty." Her generous frankneſs had embroiled her with this all-powerful miniſter; and it is with pleaſure that Dumouriez quotes this anecdote of madame de Schomberg, to teſtify his gratitude. His other ſiſter, the abbeſs de Fervacques, reſided at St. Quentin, a very agreeable town; as ſhe was paſſionately fond of her brother, the moment ſhe heard of his reſolution to eſpouſe his couſin, ſhe invited him to live in that place, and cauſed a very charming houſe to be furniſhed for his reception.

His aſſiduity and attention to mademoiſelle de Broiſſy was the theme of converſation to the whole city, and all the world praiſed and became intereſted in his paſſion, more eſpecially his good friend madame de Mathan. He would not

permit her to remain any longer in the chamber where ſhe had been ill, as it was badly ventilated, and the furniture neceſſarily impregnated with the *miſamata* of her dangerous malady. He therefore hired apartments for her in the country, about a league and a half from Caen, and left her there, under the care of an old lady who boarded in the ſame convent. He was very happy to be able to ſeclude her from the importunities of the prieſts and devotees, who might trouble her repoſe, without being able to change her reſolutions; and when he imagined the term of his *lettre de cachet* to be nearly expired, and that his couſin had ſufficiently recruited her ſtrength, he ſent her to her mother, to whom they had both communicated their intentions.

A few days after the departure of his couſin, Louis XV died, and the miniſtry was changed. By a very odd circumſtance, the abbé Berenger, a profeſſor of rhetoric at Caen, was employed to compoſe a panegyric on the deceaſed monarch; and as it was neceſſary to mention a few particulars of the life of that prince, he was adviſed to conſult the priſoner in the caſtle, who, being a man of letters, and one conſtantly employed in public affairs, would be able to furniſh him with the information ſo much deſired.

desired. The abbé Berenger accordingly waited upon him, and he assisted him to compose a latin panegyric on that very king, in whose name he had been imprisoned. His majesty's death recalled to his memory the fable of La Fontaine, which he had quoted to Marville, and he recounted the anecdote to all his acquaintances in Caen.

From that moment he considered his *lettre de cachet* as annulled, but as he would not recover his liberty by an accident of this kind, he transmitted a letter to Louis XVI, in which he requested that he might be committed once more to the Bastille, in order that his process might be resumed, and legal judges appointed for his trial. He wrote exactly in the same manner to three of the new ministers, Mr. de Vergennes, now at the head of foreign affairs, the count, afterwards marshal de Muy, who presided in the war department, and de Sartines, the minister of the marine. He received answers from them all, intimating that the king would nominate commissioners for the revision of his process, but they refused to commit him to the Bastille, and would not consign this affair to the decision of a judicial tribunal. The count de Maurepas, uncle to the duke d'Aiguillon, having now become prime minister, far from seeking to

revive the memory of this ridiculous proceſs, only ſtudied the means of ſuppreſſing every thing relative to it. All the papers were accordingly withdrawn from the regiſter of the Baſtille, and deſtroyed.

The commiſſion laſted during two months; at the end of which period he received orders to repair to Compeigne, where the court then reſided; thus his impriſonment was prolonged eight weeks by this circumſtance; and at the time of his departure, he had ſpent ſix months at the Baſtille, and five months at the caſtle of Caen; happily for him, this long leiſure was well employed.

On his arrival at court, Mr. du Muy announced to him at a public audience, that the king, who was ſorry for the long and unjuſt impriſonment he had ſuſtained, had charged him to indemnify him, by employing his talents in a manner that might prove uſeful. At a private meeting, he preſented him with a ſimilar declaration in writing. A ſecond was alſo tranſmitted to him, conſiſting of an extract of the report, ſigned by the three miniſters, acquitting him of every imputation whatever. In the courſe of this trial, de Sartines had affixed his ſignature both for and againſt him: as lieutenant of the police and a commiſſioner, he had

ſigned

ſigned the report of the duke d'Aiguillon, in which Dumouriez was implicated, and as miniſter, he had ſubſcribed a declaration of his innocence.

He waited next day on the miniſter at war, and aſked his permiſſion to marry, which he eaſily obtained. Mr. du Muy was very auſtere and religious; he himſelf had juſt gratified an old paſſion, by eſpouſing *mademoiſelle* Blancard, canoneſs of Neuſs, a woman equally beautiful and virtuous, who ſtill bewails her reſpectable huſband, whom ſhe loſt in 1775.

Dumouriez then repaired to Pontaudemer, where his couſin reſided; and after having, with great regret, paid three thouſand two hundred *livres* to the pope, for a diſpenſation, on account of relationſhip, he eſpouſed her on the 13th of September, 1774. He was obliged to ſell five thouſand volumes of his library, to pay the expences of his new eſtabliſhment; that part which remained, and which had again become very conſiderable, together with all his manuſcripts and papers, have fallen a prey to the anarchiſts.

He now removed to St. Quentin, and lived along with the abbeſs; but he diſcovered, in a ſhort time, that the two ſiſters-in-law did not

ſympathize together. The temper of his wife had been ſoured by her ſufferings. When devotion becomes exceſſive and minute, it adds to our bodily defects; it may, indeed, cover, but it does not conceal them. There was not ſufficient analogy in their houſehold to enable him to be happy. She connected every thing with God, religion, and, above all, with outward forms of worſhip. He is neither given to atheiſm nor impiety, but all religions ſeem to him to be only varieties of one uniform principle, prevailing throughout the whole univerſe: the adoration of a God. He was firmly perſuaded of the truth of that ſublime ſentence of Voltaire:

"Il nous juge ſur nos vertus,
"Et non pas ſur nos ſacrifices."

This diverſity of opinion produced ſuch a degree of diſſenſion between them, during the ſpace of fifteen years, as to occaſion much unhappineſs. She was intolerant; he was indifferent. Fond of retirement, jealous, always ill, and having had the misfortune to loſe two children at the moment of their birth, her ſociety at length became inſupportable. As ſhe had quarrelled with his ſiſter the abbeſs, they were obliged to leave St. Quentin; they accordingly retired

to

to a country houſe within three leagues of Rouen. Although good and charitable, ſhe yet rendered every thing around her unhappy. She forced him to diſmiſs his old ſervants, and he had afterwards nearly one hundred and twenty new ones during the fifteen years they kept houſe, without being able to retain one. Baptiſte himſelf, who was brought up under his roof, and conſidered rather as a child than a domeſtic, was ſacrificed to tranquillity, and never rejoined his maſter until after their ſeparation.

He endured this very diſagreeable ſtate of life for fifteen years, in the courſe of which he nurſed her whenever ſhe was ſick, which was frequently the caſe, and obeyed her in all things. When his friends either wiſhed to give him advice, or to rally him on his patience, he conſtantly replied: "Do you think that Socrates was a fool?" His literary labours, and his ſolitary walks, enabled him to ſupport this trial with conſtancy, and he conſoled himſelf with the reflection, that it would tend in ſome meaſure to ſubdue a diſpoſition naturally too haughty. For fifteen years he was the model of huſbands, and the world never heard any thing of their altercations, but what the temper of his wife happened to diſcover, and which he endeavoured

afterwards

afterwards to conceal by all the compliances of a *lover*. She loved him then, and does ſo ſtill; he renders juſtice to all her virtues, and he is ready to declare, that if they had been both philoſophers, or both devotees, happineſs would never have been abſent from their habitation.

From the very time of her marriage, and during every year afterwards, ſhe was accuſtomed to tell her huſband that ſhe was deſirous to ſeparate from him, in order to return to a convent; and he conſtantly diſſuaded her from this project. Obliged to keep up a large eſtabliſhment, and being encumbered with ſome debts, he was rendered unable to divide with her his income, which was ſcarcely ſufficient for the payment of his expences; he therefore waited until the death of his mother-in-law, when he intended to allow her the management of all her own property.

In 1786, a fortune very unexpectedly devolved to him. The widow of his worthy uncle, who had reſided at Verſailles, impreſſed by gratitude for the ſervices which he had rendered her after the death of her huſband, and penetrated at the ſame time with eſteem, bequeathed the whole of her property to him. He accordingly went to Verſailles on purpoſe to take poſſeſſion of her fortune;

fortune; and having diſcovered the relations of that lady, he reſtored all her landed eſtate to them, and only reſerved the chattels for himſelf, which, in diamonds, plate, and moveables, amounted to ſixty thouſand livres. At this period, his wife once more propoſed that they ſhould ſeparate; he conſented, and this event was about to take place, but *madame* de Perry, his ſiſter-in-law, effected a reconciliation; he, however, announced to his wife, that this ſhould be the laſt diſpute, and that if ever ſhe urged the propoſition again, his conduct ſhould be deciſive. In 1788, ſhe inſiſted once more on leaving him; he kept his word, they ſeparated; he preſented her with all the diamonds, divided the moveables and plate between them, and ſettled on her an annuity of five hundred *livres*. She accordingly retired into a convent in Paris, at the beginning of 1789.

Had he not been provoked to this ſtep, the revolution that occurred ſoon after would have forced him to it, having loſt at that epoch his employment at Cherbourg, and alſo his penſion, which had been increaſed to ſix thouſand *livres* in 1788. During the firſt two years of the revolution, he lived on the bounty of a lady, who had hurt her own circumſtances in order

to

to assist him to pay his wife's annuity. This lady, who possesses a mild and amiable disposition, has since insisted on participating his misfortunes, and has doubled his own sufferings, by the constancy and nobleness of her sentiments. He is entrusted with her fate, and this is the tie by which he is most strongly attached to life.

As to his wife, she is undoubtedly replete with great virtues; endowed with the devotion and talents of St. Teresa, she was born for a contemplative life, and is unfit for the world. He loves, esteems, and respects her: but their characters are incompatible. Alas! at the moment when he is writing this part of his memoirs, (January 1794), she is confined in the prisons of the anarchists, with her sister *madame* de Perry, her sister-in-law the abbess de Fervacques, her niece *mademoiselle* de Perry, *madame* de Châteauneuf, the cousin-german of Dumouriez, the young and interesting baroness de Schomberg, the wife of his nephew, and mother of two young children.

Frenchmen! be just; if you deem Dumouriez criminal, do not revenge yourselves upon women, who have neither participated, nor been acquainted with his projects. The wife and the mother of Coriolanus, nay even his sons, enjoyed

joyed their liberty in Rome, at the very moment when he attacked his native country at the head of the Volſcians. Dumouriez has not carried arms againſt you. He abhors the crimes committed by the guilty men who miſlead you, but he has never imagined that he poſſeſſed a right to avenge himſelf on his fellow-citizens. Double the rigour of his proſcription, and condemn his memory; but ſpare thoſe innocent women and children, who, in addition to all this, are not his deſcendants! O Providence! watch over their dear and guiltleſs heads.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Private Miſſions, during 1775, 1776, 1777.

In 1775, the baron de Pirch brought a plan of the Pruſſian *manœuvres* into France. The French imitate every thing, and carry every thing to exceſs. The *Pruſſiomania* was the rage of that day. Guibert, and all the young colonels had gone to viſit and admire the great Frederick; and this was a ſure way of diſcovering our tacticks to be deteſtable. The troops were haraſſed and tormented with new regulations and exerciſes. *Evolutionary officers* were produced, but all this did not tend to form generals. The art of war, on a great ſcale, conſiſts in the talent of moving maſſes, and this art is forgotten, when too much attention is beſtowed on minute details.

Mr. du Muy having adopted Pirch's manœuvres, battalions were formed at Paris, on the model of the French guards, and three adjutants of that *corps* were employed to inſtruct the

the adjutants and troops that were to ſerve as pattern regiments to the ſoldiers of the line.

A large body of men was ordered to aſſemble in each of the three great garriſons of Straſbourg, Metz, and Liſle. The French army liſt was at that time encumbered with a thouſand general officers, and more than twelve hundred colonels, all out of employment. The miniſter ſelected thirty of theſe, whom he diſtributed among the three grand garriſons, to aſſiſt at the *manœuvres*. All the other colonels were conſidered as no longer appertaining to the ſervice. This ſevere reform could not reſiſt the efforts of intrigue and protection, and, notwithſtanding his auſterity, Mr. de Muy was obliged gradually to increaſe his number to one hundred and fifty.

Dumouriez was nominated one of the firſt thirty ſelected. He was not however very much affected with ſo honourable a diſtinction. He had never commanded a regiment, (they were not then beſtowed but upon officers belonging to the court;) he had even refuſed a battalion of royal grenadiers. He was deſtined for the ſtaff of the army, and had marked out for himſelf a private path, entirely different from the common road. He repaired to Ver-

ſailles, and communicated ſome obſervations to Mr. du Muy, to whom he propoſed, that if he would confide the *manœuvres* of Pirch to his care, he would ſend him a geometrical analyſis in the courſe of a few days. The miniſter returned for anſwer, that as he had been expreſsly choſen, with a view to preſerve to him his employment as a colonel, it was neceſſary he ſhould ſet out for Liſle.

During his ſtay at Paris, a deputation arrived there from the ſtates of Artois, charged with complaints againſt a plan that had been adopted for improving the navigation of the Lys. This project had been ſuggeſted by a *marechal-de-camp* belonging to the engineers, whoſe name was Bouillard. Previouſly to his appointment to the war department, Mr. du Muy was commander in chief in Flanders. Having reſided at Liſle, he wiſhed to make that city the centre of the commerce of this rich province, although it was ſituated on the extreme frontier. He had encouraged the eſtabliſhment of manufactories at Tourcoing, and Roubaix, two towns that already enjoyed a conſiderable degree of trade. The ſtates of Artois, which found itſelf by theſe means deprived of its manufactures, and its population, had propoſed a plan for the cutting

cutting of canals, which were to paſs through the centre of Artois to Dunkirk, and actually undertook to diſburſe five hundred thouſand *livres* a year out of the funds of that province, ſo that this would not have coſt the king any thing.

Bouillard, in the mean time, had propoſed to Mr. du Muy, to ſhorten the courſe of the Lys as far as Aire, by means of a canal, without the boundary line of Artois. The general, by means of his credit, had cauſed Bouillard's project to be adopted; and had added to it an injuſtice, which was, to procure an order to be iſſued to the ſtates of Artois, to contribute the ſum of five hundred thouſand livres, which they had been ſo unfortunate as to offer; and this too for the completion of a project, which would ruin their province.

Theſe deputies loudly complained of this injuſtice. It happened by accident, that one of them, called the chevalier de Ghiſtelle, recounted the particulars of this affair to Dumouriez, who inſtantly waited on the miniſter, and repreſented the whole to him in the moſt forcible manner. Mr. du Muy was a man of integrity. Although he himſelf was the author of the project, he yet was noble enough to

heſitate, and actually charged him to go and examine upon the ſpot, the advantages and diſadvantages of the plan for ſhortening the courſe of the Lys, and the motives that had induced the ſtates of Artois to proteſt againſt this meaſure.

He accordingly ſet out for Liſle, with the twofold object in view, of this examination, and the ſtudy of Pirch's *manœuvres*. The marquis de Caſtries commanded in Flanders, but he ſoon left that province, and the prince de Montbarey was employed as inſpector general of the camp where the new evolutions were to be performed. Dumouriez had known him while along with the army; he was a good, very brave, and exceedingly well informed officer. They became very intimate at Liſle. Neither of them imagined at that period, that in ſix months afterwards Montbarey would be miniſter at war.

After having conſidered on the ſpot the contraction of the navigation of the Lys on one hand, and the canals ſuggeſted by the ſtates of Artois on the other, he drew up a memorial, in which he demonſtrated, " That the plan for the ſhortening the courſe of the Lys, which, according to the opinion of Bouillard, ought not

not to coſt but ten, would occaſion an expenſe of more than forty millions of *livres*; that the part of the canal conſtructed under his direction between Aire and St. Omer, of which the eſtimate amounted to only twelve hundred thouſand *livres*, had already occaſioned a diſburſement of four millions and a half, and yet, ſo far was it from being complete, that it muſt be begun anew; that in a military point of view, in conſequence of the ſcheme for improving and ſhortening the navigation of the Lys, Douay, which had been one of the marſhal de Villars principal points of defence in the ſucceſſion war, would be laid open; that in a political point of view, all the commerce of the country would be directed towards the extreme line of the frontier, by endeavouring to render the Lys navigable; that by placing the centre of commerce at Liſle, which ought not eſſentially to be conſidered in any other light than a place of arms, Artois would be depopulated and rendered poor, as it did not, like Flanders, poſſeſs the advantages of a very fertile ſoil, and an improved mode of cultivation; that in caſe of a war with the houſe of Auſtria, the trade might be eaſily intercepted, becauſe the enemy poſſeſſed the com-

mand of that part of the country; that the people around Furnes, Courtray, and Menin, were anxious that this ſcheme ſhould not be carried into execution, becauſe it would lay their fields under water, unleſs they alſo conſtructed dikes, as muſt be done on the French ſide, on purpoſe to confine the river, an expence which they were not inclined to be at for the ſake of a ſcheme that would not add any thing to their commerce; that, on the contrary, by adopting the plan propoſed by the ſtates, the trade of Artois would revive, and their commerce would be protected even in the time of war; becauſe the communication would be kept up under cover of the fortified places, and by means of the Lys in its natural marſhy ſtate, which would ſerve as a ſafeguard, and even in caſe the enemy ſhould penetrate thither, the inner canal of Artois would afford a ſecond line of defence."

He tranſmitted this memorial to the miniſter at war, who at firſt anſwered very drily, that his reaſons were rather ſpecious than ſolid, but that they would talk together on this matter. At the end of a couple of months he returned to Paris in company with Mr. de Montbarey, and converſed ſeveral times on this ſubject with Mr.

Mr. du Muy, who was afflicted with the ſtone, and died a ſhort time afterwards, in conſequence of an operation to which he had ſubmitted. This virtuous miniſter allowed, that Dumouriez was in the right; and actually ordered, that the project for improving the navigation of the Lys ſhould be ſuſpended.

Mr. de Maillebois had juſt preſented him with a well written memorial, containing a plan for conſtructing a port at Ambleteuſe. Mr. du Muy deſired him to analyſe it, and aſſured him, that if he lived until the next ſpring, he would employ him to verify the facts upon the ſpot. He then ſet out for his country houſe, where he had the chagrin to learn the death of that excellent miniſter, whom he regretted as a citizen, whoſe confidence he had gained by evincing a firm oppoſition to his favourite project. This anecdote concerning the marſhal du Muy forms an eulogium on his probity and impartiality.

Dumouriez, in conſequence of an intimate acquaintance which he had contracted with Mr. de Montbarey, during his reſidence at Liſle, had learned from him, that the parliament of Rouen was about to decide finally in a very important proceſs, which his family had

carried on upwards of a hundred years againſt that of Marſan, reſpecting the ſucceſſion to the property of a certain Jane d'Albret. As ſeveral millions of *livres* depended upon this judgment, he deſired Montbarey to ſend his ſteward to him, and obſerved, that having plenty of time on his hands, he would examine his cauſe; if he found it a juſt one, he would *ſolicit* in his favour, and if it appeared doubtful, he would point out an able advocate, and attorney to him, and in that caſe, abſtain from all manner of interferenee. Being intimately acquainted with ſeveral of the members of the parliament of Rouen, he was deſirous of rendering ſervice to his friend, not then dreaming that he would ſoon become his miniſter. On peruſing the papers, he diſcovered his cauſe to be a very juſt one; he accordingly made an analyſis of it, and *ſolicited* in his behalf. *Mademoiſelle* de Montbarey alſo repaired in the beginning of 1776 to Rouen, but the deciſion proved unfavourable, although Mr. de Montbarey was at that time miniſter at war. This would have done great honour to the parliament, if the ſuit of the prince de Marſan had been more juſt.

The counteſs de Brionne poſſeſſed conſiderable

able eſtates in Normandy, and alſo great intereſt. The houſe of Harcourt, all powerful in that province, was much attached to her. She took it very ill that Dumouriez ſhould have publickly ſolicited for Montbarey; ſhe ſaid that he was an intriguer, partly becauſe his friend during the interval had become miniſter, and partly becauſe courtiers are accuſtomed to refer either to ambition, or intereſt, all the actions of thoſe who are inferiour to them in point of rank and fortune. She was in the wrong, and if ſhe had recollected the epoch of his firſt interference, ſhe could not have done him ſo much injuſtice. It is alſo to be obſerved, that he was ſo little affected by theſe conſiderations, that in 1792, when he was miniſter for foreign affairs, he eſpouſed the intereſts of the children with equal warmth, and ſupported the ſolicitations of the princeſs de Vaudemont with all his credit.

The count de St. Germain ſucceeded the marſhal du Muy in the war department. This new miniſter had great ideas, and poſſeſſed much experience; but his reſidence in Denmark had made him loſe ſight of France, and ſtill more of Frenchmen. He wiſhed to reform the army, in the ſame manner as he had altered

the military eſtabliſhment of Denmark. He was ſtopped every moment in his career, by the privileges of certain regiments, by the great offices held by ſome military men, and by formidable protections. He prepared the revolution by diſcharging the horſe grenadiers, *gens d'armes*, light horſe, and muſquetaires, and by the diſmiſſion of one fourth of the body guards, as alſo, the French and Swiſs infantry belonging to the king's houſehold, and the *corps* of *gendarmerie*. Had theſe troops been in exiſtence, the ſtates general might have operated a reformation paſſionately deſired by the whole world, without having recourſe to actual revolution.

All the plans of this miniſter, whoſe intentions were good, have been lopped and mutilated. The number of *doers*, with which he was ſurrounded, gave to his regulations a certain degree of incoherence, and irregularity, that rendered the greater part uſeleſs, and ſeveral of them pernicious. He had been under the greateſt obligations to the father of Mr. de Montbarey; the ſon alſo rendered great ſervices to him, when, driven from Denmark, and ruined in conſequence of a bankruptcy, he *vegetated* in Alſace, at once poor and forgotten.

He

He called in the latter to his aſſiſtance, but he ſoon became jealous of him, and it was this that proved his ruin, and opened the road for Montbarey to ſucceed him. Mr. de Maurepas, who was connected with the family of Neſle, to which madame de Montbarey belonged, yielding to the cry of all France againſt Mr. de St. Germain, cauſed Montbarey to be appointed in his place.

Among a number of other uſeful plans which Mr. de St. Germain had in view, was one to which he was much attached: this was to eſtabliſh a port for men of war in the channel. Dumouriez tranſmitted him an analyſis of the project reſpecting Ambleteuſe. This analyſis, founded on the aſſertions contained in the memorial of Mr. de Maillebois, was highly favourable to the ſcheme: but in drawing it up, he had made uſe of the precaution, as he was unacquainted with the ſpot itſelf, to begin with theſe words: "If the memorial be true in all its parts." Mr. de St. Germain invited him to Paris in 1776, and ſent him as one of the king's commiſſioners, along with the chevalier d'Oiſy, and Mr. de la Rozière, to examine where, and how, a naval port could be formed in the channel. The firſt of his

colleagues was a very ignorant captain of a man of war, who died before they ſet out. The ſecond was the beſt informed officer belonging to the ſtaff he had ever before met with. He was at that time quarter-maſter-general of the army of Britanny, and a brigadier, and indebted for his fortune to Mr. de Broglie.

Previous to their ſetting out, the object of their miſſion was extended. They were not only to examine Ambleteuſe*, with which la Rozière was acquainted, and which he was well aſſured would not anſwer the expectations that had been formed of it, but alſo all the plans of the ports already conſtructed, or intended to be conſtructed, from Dunkirk to the mouth of the Seine.

Theſe two officers were accordingly very anxious to verify the particulars of all the different projects, that had been formed for this purpoſe, within that extent. There was not a ſingle creek, however contemptible it might be, that had not exerciſed the imagination of ſome ſchemer. They perceived that the memorial reſpecting Ambleteuſe was founded on falſe prin-

* This ſea port, ſo often mentioned in the courſe of this chapter, is twelve miles diſtant from Calais, and eight from Boulogne.—*Tranſ.*

ciples;

ciples; that marſhal de Vauban, who had been miſquoted, and who had actually traced out the ground-plan of a citadel, conſtructed a ſluice, and dug an entrance into the baſin, had never intended this as any thing more than a port for the reception of frigates; which was, indeed, eaſily diſcovered, by examining the preparations that had been made for its improvement. They accordingly abandoned this idea, and, after a mature examination, fixed on a ſpot in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, a little towards the left of that town and the river Lianne. According to their plan, reſervoirs for water were to be digged in the valley of Capecure, and baſins under the fort of Chatillon, an entrance was at the ſame time to be cut near the batteries, and a dike to be erected along the banks of the Heure and Linheuſe. A marine eſtabliſhment conſiſting of twelve ſail of the line might have been very eaſily formed here, with all the neceſſary defences, for the ſum of twelve millions of *livres*; the labour and expence might have been divided into four different portions, and the whole completed in the courſe of four years. This port would have faced the Downs.

La Rozière was well acquainted with Cherbourg; he propoſed to conſtruct a ſecond port there,

there, exactly oppoſite Portſmouth, for thirty ſail of the line. As that of Breſt correſponds with Plymouth, we ſhould then have had two ports more than the Engliſh: thoſe of Rochefort and Toulon. They inſerted in their memorial the particulars of this plan, a liſt of the ſums of money which might be drawn from Artois, and the inhabitants of Boulogne and Picardy, in order to aſſiſt the government in its proſecution, and alſo tables of the ſoundings of the ſea, of the tides, and of the depth of ſoil. Dumouriez, who foreſaw that the American war muſt, ſooner or later, embroil France and Great Britain, added a diſcourſe relative to this event, and pointed out the means of aſſembling, in the courſe of one ſingle month, a fleet of veſſels capable of landing fifty thouſand men in England.

Having ended their labours, they returned to Verſailles, in the month of September. Mr. de Maurepas aſſembled a council compoſed of all the miniſters, at which the count d'Eſtaing was invited to aſſiſt. They laviſhed their praiſes on the project relative to Boulogne, and executed nothing. Mr. de St. Germain had, however, appointed Dumouriez aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general of the coaſts of Boulogne, of which he

wiſhed

wiſhed to give him the command, that he might ſuperintend the works that had been projected there.

When they had read the diſcourſe relative to the American war, Maurepas told him, without any heſitation, that he was fooliſh and hot-headed, for he himſelf was very certain that the events which had occurred in America would not produce hoſtilities with England, and that he had taken meaſures on this head that could not fail to prove deciſive. Although Dumouriez was well convinced in his own mind, that the prime miniſter was in the wrong, he did not think it his duty to inſiſt any more on this ſubject.

He afterwards ſet out for his country-houſe, where he remained during the whole of 1777. He there compoſed a ſyſtem of defence for Normandy, and ſeveral works beſides; among his other labours, he tranſlated a book, then little known, but which poſſeſſed great originality, entitled, in Italian, "Vita di Benevenuto Cellini ſcultore Fiorentino," and alſo a German tract, containing the lives of the principal generals of Charles XII, Renſchild, Steinbock, Duker, Meyerfeldt, and others. Theſe manuſcripts

ſcripts are loſt; for he had never time enough to get them printed.

In the month of July he tranſmitted a memorial to Mr. de Montbarey, concerning the American war, in which he foretold the capture of Burgoyne; intelligence arrived ſoon after, that that general and all his army had laid down their arms at Saratoga. He announced a ſpeedy war at the ſame time. Mr. de Maurepas on this ſaid: "I am afraid it is but too likely."

Toward the latter end of December, a courier was diſpatched by Mr. de Montbarey, now become miniſter at war, with a letter enjoining him to repair inſtantly to Verſailles; he there found la Rozière, who had received a ſimilar order. Next day a great council was held at Mr. de Maurepas's. War was declared. La Rozière read his plan of defence for Britanny; the miniſters were very uneaſy about this province, and eſpecially Breſt harbour. Artillery and ammunition were therefore ſent off poſt from Douay to Breſt.

Dumouriez was then commanded to ſet out for Britanny, to ſerve under la Rozière. On this he ſpoke as follows: "Gentlemen, you are very much alarmed about Brittanny;

tanny; but as for me, I am no longer under any apprehenſions for that province, after having heard the excellent memorial, which you have juſt approved. La Rozière will be ſufficient in Britanny. But I am anxious about the fate of Normandy, concerning which you have not yet occupied your thoughts, and more eſpecially for the peninſula of Cotentin, of which the Engliſh were once before in poſſeſſion*; if they ſhould ſucceed in eſtabliſhing themſelves there, it would take a whole campaign to drive them out again."

He afterwards preſented them with a ſummary of his ſyſtem of defence for the coaſt of Normandy. Mr. de Maurepas deſired him to commit all his ideas on this ſubject to writing, with which he immediately complied. This miniſter preſented his plan to the king. The prince aſked who had drawn up this ſhort memorial; and directly oppoſite the place in which he treated about Cherbourg, his majeſty wrote with his own hand in the margin: "Dumouriez, *commandant* of Cherbourg." This poſt was thus expreſsly created for him, in conſequence of the ſpontaneous nomination of

* In 1758.—*Tranſ.*

Louis

Louis XVI, in the beginning of January 1778. It was accompanied with a houſe and a ſalary of ſix thouſand *livres*, which, in addition to his other appointments, as aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general, his penſion, and his little income, produced twenty-three thouſand livres a year, and a fixed eſtabliſhment.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Cherbourg. The American war.

DUMOURIEZ had marched in 1758 to defend Cherbourg, or rather to ſee the Engliſh evacuate it, being then a cornet of horſe. He had not returned thither during the ſpace of twenty years. In the courſe of his firſt journey he had greatly admired this harbour, and its advantageous poſition at the extremity of a peninſula, oppoſite the ſouthernmoſt point of the Iſle of Wight, within eighteen leagues of the coaſt of England. He had told his wife, then a girl, and all his friends, more than fifteen years before the event, that he ſhould never be happy until he had prevailed upon the king of France to conſtruct a port there. They now admired the fatality of his deſtiny.

He left the care of removing his furniture entirely to his wife, and ſet out in the beginning of February to take poſſeſſion of his new appointment. The place, which was not then ſo large as a market town of any conſideration,

contained ſeven thouſand three hundred inhabitants, of whom he cauſed an enumeration to be made. Its whole trade, which was then extremely limited, was carried on by means of three veſſels of about three hundred tons each, employed in long voyages, and about thirty coaſters, of from ten to forty tons. He found a very handſome baſin already excavated, and a roadſtead capable of containing about two hundred veſſels. Frigates carrying thirty-two guns might have been conducted into the baſin, and kept afloat there.

Its defence was entruſted to a ſingle battalion in garriſon, and about a ſcore of twenty-four pounders, unprovided with carriages, a ſmall fort on the left of the harbour, in very bad order, and an open battery, entirely deſtitute of a parapet, at a point called *le Hornet*. The marſhal de Harcourt commanded in the province, and his ſon, the duke, acted under him. He was a man of great worth, but he had two ſubjects of complaint againſt Dumouriez:

1, He believed that the command of Cherbourg was the price paid him for ſupporting the proceſs of the prince de Montbarey before the parliament of Rouen;

And, 2d, this nomination took place without any

any intimation being given either to him or his father. He accordingly cheriſhed for ſome time a certain degree of prejudice and rancour againſt the new *commandant*.

It was neceſſary to begin by putting the port in ſuch a ſituation as to be protected from ſurpriſe. He accordingly demanded orders; but both orders and money were refuſed him. During the period now alluded to, each portion of the military ſervice was independent, and it was with much trouble that they could be prevailed upon to agree in any one thing. It was, therefore, cuſtomary to ſay, "the king of the land," "the king of the ſea," "the king of the fortifications," and "the king of the artillery." The troops, indeed, obeyed the military commanders alone, but theſe were always counteracted by thoſe who preſided over the other branches of the adminiſtration. At Cherbourg, there was only an old, infirm captain of artillery, who had not ſeen ſervice ſince the war of 1741, and a company of invalids, conſiſting of forty-five men, of whom the lieutenant and eight men only had been bred as matroſſes.

He wrote to an old ſuperintendant then at Caen, beſeeching him to ſend a few gun carriages; but he was not able to obtain any. The mar-

ſhal, alſo, did not ſecond his efforts. On the refuſal of the reſident captain, he, however, appointed the lieutenant of invalids, who was a very intelligent man, to be his grand maſter of the ordnance; cauſed wood to be purchaſed, which was converted into carriages, and ſtrengthened by means of iron work, and then, calling in the aſſiſtance of his infantry, he mounted nine guns on the block houſe, two at the point of Homet, and the remainder on other batteries. He tranſmitted an account of the expence to the inſpector, who fell into a paſſion, and complained to the miniſter; he in his turn reprimanded him, but at the ſame time liquidated the debt that had been contracted.

At about a mile and a half north-eaſt from the upper end of the road is ſituated the famous iſle of Pelée, which by protecting and confining, rendered the harbour ſafe and commodious. In the courſe of the preceding year, a fort had been projected there, which has been ſince built, and which beyond contradiction is the beſt and moſt beautiful ſea-fort in all Europe. The works had been put a ſtop to on account of the war, but ſquare, maſſy blocks of granite, which coſt from ſixty to eighty thouſand *livres*, had been laid there. On examining this place, he found,

found, that by means of theſe ſtones, a platform had been raiſed above the level of the ſea, which, at high water, covered all the reſt of the iſle, excepting a few points of land, and that a pretty large houſe had been built there, for the engineers and workmen, which was then inhabited by a keeper. He reflected, that by bringing other blocks, and planting them along the platform, ſo as to form a parapet, a battery might be eſtabliſhed there. He communicated this idea to the lieutenant-colonel of engineers, a man of great talents, whoſe name was Bouchet, with whom he was much connected afterwards, and who will be again mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs; they accordingly concerted a plan between them, but found great difficulty in obtaining the payment of the neceſſary expences from the ſuperintendant of the fortifications, as they amounted to about ſeventeen thouſand *livres*. But cannon was ſtill wanting.

In the courſe of a tour through the whole peninſula, from Carenten to Port-bail, in company with this engineer, he diſcovered a number of redoubts provided with artillery, the carriages of which were lying near the guns; and as the mounting of theſe, where they then

were, would not have been attended with any diſadvantage, he took twenty-five uſeleſs cannon, and three or four mortars, from ſuch of the redoubts as were worſt ſituated, and cauſed them to be tranſported to Cherbourg. This produced new expenſes, and freſh clamours. There was one circumſtance that rendered this offence ſtill greater: part of theſe redoubts were not within the limits of his command. Montbarrey's firſt clerk made the miniſter ſign a new letter, ſtill more terrible than the firſt, commanding him to reſtore the artillery; but he ſwore that he would not deliver up a ſingle gun, unleſs the miniſter ſent him others; he obſerved at the ſame time, that Cherbourg being a roadſtead, extremely convenient for all the convoys that paſſed between Havre and Breſt, and *the houſe of call*, as it were, for the whole channel trade, it was impoſſible for him to permit it to be left deſtitute of protection.

During this diſpute, Mr. de Caux, a *mareſchal de camp*, and director of engineers, ordered the battery on the iſland of Pelée to be completed. Dumouriez mounted ſeven twenty-four pounders, and three twelve inch mortars on it, hoiſted a flag, and alſo ſtationed a hundred men as a garriſon, twenty ſailors, and two large boats, there.

there. He was now accuſed of temerity. The miniſter accordingly ſent him word, that he would endanger the king's artillery, and muſt be reſponſible for the conſequences. He obſerved in reply, that he wiſhed to be permitted to proceed, that the king's artillery was intended to be endangered, that the capture of the fort was not ſo eaſily achieved as he might imagine, for the enemy could only land there at low water, and even then with great difficulty; that his battery could neither be demoliſhed nor diſmounted, the parapets conſiſting of large blocks of granite; that even if the Engliſh contrived to take this battery, as they could neither demoliſh, nor occupy the iſland, he would furniſh it with a freſh garriſon, and artillery, were this circumſtance to occur twice a year during the whole war. He received for anſwer, that he muſt not do any thing more without orders, under penalty of loſing his place.

Eight days afterwards, two Engliſh frigates gave chace to ſome merchantmen, which inſtantly took ſhelter under the new fort on the iſland of Pelée. The utility of the cannon was then diſcovered, and the miniſter tranſmitted him a letter replete with eulogiums,

but, he at the ſame time, conjured him not to proceed further without his leave. Such however was not his intention, for he wiſhed to render the means of defence complete.

The battery at Homet conſiſted of only two cannon mounted *en-barbette*, and deſtitute of any covering or protection whatever. This point commanded the road of Cherbourg. About three hundred paces further off is another point, which commands the creek of St. Anne, on the other ſide of the road. The veſſels that enter the road from the weſt, are obliged to bear up very cloſe to theſe two points, on purpoſe to avoid the great channel current, which would otherwiſe carry them too far out. Thoſe leaving the port with an ebb tide, and ſailing towards the weſt, are alſo obliged to approach this part of the coaſt, for the very ſame reaſon. At the point overlooking St. Anne's creek was an old redoubt, which is ſtill called Choiſeul's battery.

He formed the project of encloſing theſe two points by means of two demi-baſtions, and alſo of connecting them together by a long curtain. There happened to be on this ſpot a great number of blocks of granite; theſe had been collected with an intention to build a fort on

on the rocks ahead of Homet, ſimilar to that on the iſland of Pelée, which has been ſince accompliſhed. He propoſed this ſcheme to Mr. de Caux, who having been rebuked for his complaiſance in executing the battery on the iſle of Pelée without the miniſter's orders, abſolutely refuſed to have any concern in it; and even prohibited the engineers under him from intermeddling at all in this buſineſs. He was not however diſcouraged by this circumſtance. He took along with him the chevalier de Boyer, major in the regiment of Normandy, and brother to him whom he was acquainted with while miniſter from France at Genoa, with a dozen of ſerjeants, and a hundred well diſpoſed ſoldiers of the ſame regiment. On their arrival at the place fixed upon, he addreſſed them as follows:

" My friends, I wiſh, in order to preſerve your lives, to help you to conſtruct a work now become indiſpenſably neceſſary. I not only am about to act without any orders, but money has been actually refuſed me to pay for the labour; in ſhort, the engineers have been prohibited from aſſiſting me. Notwithſtanding this, you ſee the neceſſity of mounting cannon here to protect the ſhipping. If they be placed

on

on the open beach, the Engliſh will diſmount them, and kill you; the more brave you are, the leſs diſpoſed am I to expoſe your lives. I can do without engineers, and I am now about to mark out the ground, and to work along with you. I am poor; I cannot give you any thing but cyder and brandy, but remember it is for yourſelves that you are to toil."

Theſe brave men applauded him. He then traced out the foundation. The inhabitants alſo aſſiſted, and ſupplying them with their wheel-barrows, ſhovels, and pickaxes, a parapet ſoon began to make its appearance. Mr. de Caux, on hearing of this, mounted his horſe, requeſted the *commandant* to permit him to continue the work, and ſent two engineers to ſuperintend it. In a week's time, five twenty-four pounders were mounted in the demi-baſtion of Homet, four in that of Choiſeul, and four mortars along the curtain. Mr. de Caux once more engaged to pay the workmen, who actually refuſed to receive any money, ſaying that they had laboured voluntarily, and for themſelves. What a good nation! How much regret is excited by the memory of theſe anecdotes!

He afterwards eſtabliſhed a battery of three twenty-

twenty-four pounders, in St. Anne's creek; he mounted five more and a mortar, in the fort of Querqueville, nine pieces and two mortars in the fort Galet, four cannons, in a little fort called l'*Onglet*, at the entrance into the road, and four guns and a mortar in the redoubt of Tourlaville, at the right hand ſide of the harbour. In ſhort, in the ſpace of two months, he ſtationed no leſs than forty-five pieces of cannon, and ten mortars, in batteries correſponding, and connected with each other, the whole expenſe of which did not coſt more than ſixty thouſand *livres*.

He then drew a plan of the road, with the direction of the fire from all his batteries, accurately delineated, and he tranſmitted this to the miniſter, who preſented it to the king. He received much praiſe in return, and alſo a reinforcement of a company of artillery, ſome ammunition, ſeveral cannons, and mortars, and a ſupply of two thouſand muſkets. He then traced out new batteries all along the coaſt from Barfleur to Port-bail, which formed the limits of his command, reinforced his works at Cherbourg, with twenty additional pieces of artillery, and by the month of Auguſt, he had no leſs than twenty-two batteries, mounted

with one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and thirty mortars, in an extent of coaſt of about twenty three leagues.

" Why," it will be aſked,, " did he commence this work without orders?" It was becauſe every one ſeemed deſirous to thwart him, and that he diſcovered the impoſſibility of obtaining any aſſiſtance whatever. The duke de Harcourt came to viſit the batteries, and applauded every thing that he had done. From that moment he always evinced the greateſt confidence in him, reſpecting every thing in the military department. Theſe batteries proved very uſeful. The privateers were now certain to find an aſylum in this road; they alſo brought their prizes thither, and Cherbourg ſoon began to aſſume a very lively appearance.

Dumouriez had converted the old magazines into barracks, and ſtationed two battalions in Cherbourg, and two other in Valognes. They often fired on the flying ſquadrons commanded by Johnſtone and Carteret, and conſtantly ſucceeded not only in driving them away whenever they approached, but alſo in ſaving the convoys.

He was menaced with the loſs of his command

mand during the month of Auguſt, in conſequence of a very ſingular accident. The military men in France were already weary of Pirch's *manœuvres*. A great diſpute had taken place about the propriety of forming the troops according to the *cloſe* or *open order* *, between Meſnil Durand, a major general, well ſkilled in tacticks, and the celebrated Guibert. The one, by means of very excellent reaſons, but with great bluntneſs, defended the firſt of theſe modes; and Guibert, with more wit than ſolidity, the ſecond. They were both in the wrong, becauſe each praiſed his own ſyſtem excluſively. The marſhal de Broglie, who did not love Guibert, declared himſelf in favour of the *cloſe order*, with great warmth; and the court reſolved that thirty thouſand men ſhould be aſſembled and encamped on the plains of Vauſſieux, near Bayeux; where the two ſyſtems were to be put to the teſt. The marſhal de Broglie was entruſted with the command.

In conſequence of one of the many fantaſtical regulations in the ſervice of France, the appointment of the marſhal de Broglie ſuper-

* L'ordre profond, et l'ordre mince.—*Orig.*

ſeded

ſeded the command of the marſhal d'Harcourt, in his own province. The authority of the latter extended indeed to the towns, and the adjacent country, but as the garriſons were deſtined for the camp of Vauſſieux, they were in the mean time under the orders of the marſhal de Broglie, a circumſtance that occaſioned much confuſion, for the marſhal, abuſing his temporary power, nominated occaſional commanders in all the places where there were any troops.

Normandy, although a maritime frontier, was not a military province. The ſtaff officers were conſidered as holding civil appointments, and their places were commonly purchaſed; there was only one ſingle military command in all Normandy, that of Cherbourg, to which Dumouriez had been nominated by the king. The marſhal de Broglie, unapprized of this circumſtance, pitched upon Mr. Micoud, a brigadier, and conſequently ſuperiour in point of rank to Dumouriez, who was only a colonel, to command at Cherbourg, thinking that he was only the king's lieutenant, or civil commander. The latter proteſted, that, if Micoud ſhould arrive, he would not only refuſe obedience to his orders, but either oblige him to execute his own,

own, in the ſame manner as the reſt of the garriſon, or diſmiſs him immediately.

He did not write a ſingle word on this ſubject to the miniſter, as he waited the arrival of the marſhal de Broglie, which accordingly took place in the month of Auguſt. He experienced a good reception from this general, to whom he ſhewed his commiſſion, and explained his ſituation; but as the marſhal perſevered in his reſolutions, he ſaid to him: "Do not let this circumſtance in the leaſt affect you; if you wiſh to make Micoud's fortune, ſo far am I from having any objection, that I am determined to accompany you as one of your *aides-de-camp*." The marſhal appeared to be affected with this mode of proceeding, and Micoud was provided for elſewhere.

Mr. de Broglie then aſked him what ſide he had eſpouſed, in the diſpute about the *cloſe* or *open* order of arrangement. He replied: "I ſhall always follow that which you may adopt, according to circumſtances." Both of theſe orders are good, and ought not to exclude each other: it belongs to the genius of a general to uſe them according to time and place. The camp of Vauſſieux was formed; and the marſhal, with a ſuperiour army, followed Durand's plan.

plan. Luckner, on the other hand, adopted that of his antagoniſt, with a ſmaller number of troops, and beat him conſtantly, not executing, it muſt be owned, what was agreed upon, but making uſe of every advantage that offered, which made the marſhal very angry. It would have been far better to have taken Guernſey and Jerſey.

This diſpute, which, however, ſoon afterwards ceaſed, as much on account of the inconſtancy of the French as from the ridicule which the manœuvres at the camp of Vauſſieux had thrown upon it, occaſioned Dumouriez, who had not eſpouſed either ſide of the queſtion, to experience a great injuſtice. There were three colonels promoted at the ſame time, in the year 1769, and in the following order; Guibert, Dumouriez, and Vauborel, the ſon-in-law of marſhal de Vaux. Guibert was too vain to pardon the marſhal de Broglie, to whom he owed every thing, for his opinion; and in an anſwer to Meſnil-Durand, he accordingly attacked his benefactor in an epigram: this was inexcuſable. The whole world revolted at the idea; and he was taxed with doing that from ingratitude, which originated merely in pride. The marſhal now made a promotion, which ſtopped preciſely at

at Guibert; thus Dumouriez and Vauborel were both puniſhed on his account. Some other means ſhould have been adopted for the chaſtiſement of Guibert, who ought not to have had the fruits of his ſervices ſnatched from him in this manner. This was the third wrong of the ſame kind experienced by Dumouriez, who loſt by theſe means great advantages in point of ſeniority. But of what uſe was military rank? It had been irrevocably written in the book of deſtiny, that in the courſe of a few years all ſorts of rank ſhould be confounded, and every new injuſtice and freſh fault on the part of the government haſtened the approach of this frightful cataſtrophe.

During the courſe of the ſummer, Dumouriez carefully examined the road of *la Hougue*; procured tables of the ſoundings, and copies of the plans which had been formed for the purpoſe of conſtructing a harbour there; as alſo an exact account of the ſtate of the tides, the currents, and the winds. He then cauſed ſimilar obſervations to be made, which were afterwards verified by himſelf, relative to the road of Cherbourg, in order to determine the great queſtion as to the choice of one of theſe two places, for the purpoſe of creating a naval port oppoſite to

Portſmouth. He will treat uninterruptedly on this ſubject in the enſuing chapter.

The marſhal de Broglie received nearly two hundred thouſand *livres* on account of his uſeleſs camp at Vauſſieux. He hoped to recommence his operations in the ſpring; but the troops compoſing his army, as well as the general officers, were diſperſed among the fortified places. The baron de Bezenval, who commanded in the peninſula, reſided at Valognes, and the marquis de Jaucourt, a major-general, was quartered at Cherbourg: the latter was a very excellent officer, and one with whom Dumouriez formed a great intimacy. He then found himſelf under the neceſſity of obeying a great number of ſuperiour officers, for in addition to the major and lieutenant-generals of the army of Broglie, he was alſo ſubject to the orders of the marquis d'Hericy, a *marechal de camp* employed in lower Normandy, of the duke d'Harcourt, commander in chief, and of the marſhal d'Harcourt his father, who was governour by letters patent, a ſingular favour conferred on that family, in its own province. He conciliated all theſe contrarieties by means of the utmoſt attention. The generals of the army were only temporary, the others were permanent.

He

He did not exhibit the ſame complaiſance to another claſs of commanders by whom he was beſet. There was a civil governour of Cherbourg, called the count de Valentinois, a lieutenant-general of the Cotentin, who, by the by, was the ſon of a tip-ſtaff of Valognes, and four lieutenant-generals of the province. All theſe employments were venal, and conferred many privileges, and ſtill more pretenſions, although there were not any functions whatever annexed to them. On all great occaſions, theſe perſons tranſmitted their orders to Dumouriez, who conveyed their letters to the marquis d'Harcourt, without returning any anſwer whatever. He mentions theſe trifling and unintereſting circumſtances merely to ſhew the complicated machine of the French government, and the manner in which one wheel counteracted another.

The count de Broglie and Mr. de Voyer both died in the courſe of this year. He greatly regretted the loſs of the former, who was truly a ſtateſman, and they were then but rare, as was demonſtrated ſoon afterwards. Four or five men poſſeſſing the talents of Mr. de Broglie would have ſaved France. His life was the laſt ſacri-

fice made by him to his country, having been cut off in conſequence of an epidemick diſorder, with which he was attacked while ſuperintending the draining of the moraſs at Rochefort. Mr. de Voyer alſo fell a victim to the ſame malady. He poſſeſſed ſtill more knowledge than the count de Broglie, but his morals did not inſpire the ſame degree of confidence.

Dumouriez found at Cherbourg an academical inſtitution, encouraged by a multitude of patents, but which never aſſembled, being compoſed of only five or ſix members, who were far from being learned. He was offered the honorary preſidentſhip of this academy, and he accepted it, on purpoſe to ſerve his own views. A ſociety of men of letters, all ſeamen, and natives of Lower Normandy, could neither enrich literature nor the French language. They conſiſted of judges of the admiralty, merchants, country prieſts, and a well-informed man, who was ſuperintendant of the roads and bridges, named Noel. He gave a new direction to their labours, and required from each of them a memorial relative to Cherbourg, one on trade, another on navigation, a third on agriculture, and a fourth on the uſeful part of natural hiſtory, ſuch as quarries, mines, woods, the

quality

quality of the ſoil, the mode of culture, rivers, cattle, population, &c.

Theſe being completed in the courſe of the winter, he collected them together, and formed them into a work entitled " A Memorial relative to the Cotentin." This employed two years labour, and ſerved as the baſis for his plan relative to a harbour, by pointing out the great reſources of this peninſula. He preſented a copy of this work to each of the miniſters, announcing at the ſame time, that it was the reſult of the labours of an academic ſociety. It was in this manner that all theſe literary aſſociations might have been rendered uſeful throughout France, by directing their attention to proper ſubjects, inſtead of allowing them to ramble into idle, and always imperfect purſuits.

His labours relative to the defence of the peninſula, and its melioration, did not prevent him from turning his attention towards the great object of the war. During the campaign of 1778, France and England were only able to oppoſe each other by means of a ſmall fleet, and that too of equal force on both ſides; they, however, pretended to fight a naval battle, at the mouth of the channel. Theſe two powers were preparing to diſplay a greater degree of

ſtrength in the courſe of the next campaign, which was ſuppoſed likely to prove deciſive, becauſe the Spaniſh fleet was then to form a junction with that of France, and to this formidable ſcheme was added the project of a deſcent in England. It was the vaſtneſs of theſe plans, and the difficulty of combining the forces of the two nations, that proved prejudicial to the ſucceſs of the war.

This always occurs: the example of the republick of Venice againſt the league of Cambray, of the great Frederick during the ſeven years war, and more than all, the recent leſſon of France in anarchy, reſiſting the united attacks of all the powers of Europe, exhibit terrible proofs of the advantage poſſeſſed by a power operating alone againſt the combination and reunion of ſeveral others, who are always unable to maintain a good underſtanding together.

The vicinity of Guernſey and Jerſey excited the *envy* of Dumouriez. He thought it ſhameful that two little iſles, in the immediate neighbourhood of our coaſts, and formerly diſmembered from Normandy, ſhould remain under the dominion of the Engliſh; he could not conceive how it came about, that the national honour had

had not induced the government, during every war between England and France, to attempt an expedition againſt them, with a firm reſolution to maintain theſe acquiſitions at all hazards. But the national honour apart, the poſition of theſe iſlands at the head of the gulf of St. Maloes, formed by the coaſt of Britanny and the weſtern prolongation of the peninſula of the Cotentin, render theſe iſlands exceedingly dangerous to the French navigation. The Engliſh government keeps fair with the natives, who are either not ſubject to any taxes, or at moſt to very light ones, and are alſo protected from being impreſſed. In time of peace they carry on an enormous ſmuggling trade with the French, and in time of war, they exerciſe privateering to a terrible extent.

During all the wars between theſe two powers, the firſt year always coſts more than forty millions of *livres*, and two or three thouſand ſailors to France, which is certain of being attacked unexpectedly by theſe iſlanders. If France could acquire the ſovereignty of theſe iſles, as well as Alderney, Herms, Sark, and the Caſkets, ſhe would have in her favour all the advantages which the Engliſh now enjoy over her by the poſſeſſion of them,

the full extent of a ſmuggling intercourſe with their coaſts during the time of peace, and the firſt fruits of the produce of privateering at the commencement of hoſtilities.

It has been objected, as in the fable of the fox and grapes, that the acquiſition of theſe iſlands would not indemnify the expenſe of an expedition againſt them; that in time of peace they would be a burden to France, on account of the difficulty of confining the ſmuggling trade to thoſe places, and becauſe the poſſeſſion of them by the Engliſh affords great facility to our intercourſe with their coaſts, and is favourable to the ſale of our brandies, our tobacco, our ſalt, and our Norman manufactures. He begs leave to obſerve by way of reply, that the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands by the French would double all the advantages, provided they continued to them the ſame form of government by which they have attained their preſent proſperity; that it is very immaterial to the trade of the iſland whether the garriſon be Engliſh or French; but, on the other hand, France is exceedingly intereſted in poſſeſſing them in time of peace, in order that they may not prove inimical to her during a war.

At

At the end of the year there were more than ſixty French prizes, fifty millions worth of our commodities, and two thouſand ſailors, in the ports or priſons of Guernſey or Jerſey. They had not as yet adopted any meaſures of defence there, more than on the Engliſh coaſts. Even the militia had not been called out. In truth, the militia is in a ſtate of permanency in thoſe iſlands, and all the inhabitants are provided with arms; but a long peace had rendered them unacquainted with the nature and duties of military ſervice. Beſides, the greater part of them had gone to ſea. The batteries on the coaſts were not mounted with cannon, and ſix or ſeven hundred newly levied Scotch highlanders, moſt of whom were diſcontented with their ſituation, formed the whole military force.

Dumouriez had propoſed to the marſhal de Broglie to effect a deſcent in the month of Auguſt or September; but this general, entirely abſorbed in his meditations on the *cloſe order*, ſcornfully rejected ſuch a ſuggeſtion as entirely unworthy of his notice. He at that time projected an attack upon them by a mode exceedingly ſimple in its nature, and which would not have afforded any alarm to the enemy, but

he begs leave to decline any mention of the particulars, that this reſource may not be loſt to his country during any future war.

He tranſmitted his memorial to the duke d'Harcourt, and the miniſters of war and of the marine. The brave prince of Naſſau Siegen, whom he loves and eſteems from the very bottom of his heart, was levying a legion which was not then complete; he was deſtined to command this expedition, which was however delayed to the next year, and the plan of Dumouriez, which could not have failed of ſucceſs, was thus ſacrificed. If Mr. de Sartines, who occaſioned this, had but then known the extent of Dumouriez' friendſhip for the brave Naſſau, and had confided the command of the other troops to him, his own legion not being then formed, the former would have enabled his reſpectable friend to have ſucceeded in his enterprize, and would have been enchanted at the idea of procuring him ſo much glory.

His mind was now occupied about a much greater project, and one far more dangerous for England. This was to get poſſeſſion of the iſle of Wight. At the end of the year 1778, although the Engliſh had fifty thouſand men in

in America, their militia was not called out, or a ſingle battery rendered fit for ſervice, either upon their own coaſts, or along the ſhores of that iſland. There did not remain more than ſeven or eight thouſand regular troops in England.

The iſle of Wight was infinitely important. All the ſhip timber for the building of frigates was then lying at Cowes. The hoſpital, where there were more than two thouſand ſick ſeamen, was at Newport, in the very centre of the iſland. All the grain and flour belonging to Portſmouth was at St. Helens. Had ten thouſand men been but once landed in this iſland, England would have been under the neceſſity of levying an army, and waſting a whole campaign in driving them away. Even, had ſhe at laſt ſucceeded in making them priſoners, this was a garriſon which France might have freely ſacrificed, in order to derange the whole of the enemy's ſyſtem of war, to produce an enormous additional expenſe, and occaſion a ſudden depreſſion of her credit. Still greater conſequences than theſe would have reſulted from ſuch a meaſure.

He drew up a very circumſtantial detail of all the particulars of this project, which he wiſhed

wiſhed to be carried into execution either in December 1778, or in January 1779. He had every thing at hand; but the ſame motives, which prevent him from publiſhing the particulars of the intended operations againſt Guernſey and Jerſey, impoſe an equal ſilence on him in reſpect to the iſle of Wight. Similar circumſtances may occur again, and he does not wiſh to injure his country, the anarchy of which he conſiders as a horrible, but temporary wound. He can aſſert however, that this expedition, which would have been attended with little or no danger, muſt have been followed by the moſt terrible conſequences to England.

He preſented the fruits of his labours to the duke d'Harcourt, who, having ſerved in a brilliant manner during the ſeven years war, appeared very proper to conduct this enterprize, which would have made him a marſhal of France. It received the entire approbation of this general, who communicated it to the miniſtry. It unfortunately happened, that they had decided on the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets; they were now occupied about the project of a deſcent, and they incorporated this ſcheme with the general plan of the campaign,

campaign, which was pitiful; in ſhort, they loſt a great, and indeed the ſole opportunity, of putting an end to the war at one glorious ſtroke, and that too in England itſelf.

Diſguſted with the ill ſucceſs of his propoſitions, he now confined himſelf to ſuch political and military objects as related to Cherbourg, and its peninſula.

In the courſe of the winter, Mr. de Jaucourt tranſmitted to him a variety of queſtions relative to the beſt means of attacking Guernſey and Jerſey; they were drawn up with great ability; he inſerted his anſwers in the margin, article by article, and never heard any thing more on the ſubject.

In the ſpring, the brave prince de Naſſau departed from St. Maloes with his legion, with an intention to attack Jerſey; he was eſcorted by a more than ſufficient convoy, and made good his deſcent in St. Owen's bay; but he miſcarried, and was forced to reimbark. Part of this legion was joined to another then raiſing by the prince de Luxembourg. Rullecourt, a very brave adventurer, was appointed to the command of it; he announced beforehand the conqueſt of Jerſey, embarked at Granville, made good his landing at St. Clement's

ment's point, on the night of twelfth-day 1780, ſurpriſed the town of St. Hilary, and took the commanding officer priſoner; but he himſelf was killed the next morning, and all his little *corps* obliged to ſurrender. This was the laſt attack upon thoſe iſlands, and theſe imprudent expeditions prevented more mature and ſucceſsful ones from taking place.

In 1779, admiral d'Orvilliers conſumed part of the ſummer in cruiſing on the coaſts of Spain, on purpoſe to effect a junction with the Spaniſh fleet, which, either out of diſinclination, or national phlegm, made him remain ſo long on this terrible cruize, that the ſcurvy at length deſtroyed one half of his ſeamen. At this period an intended deſcent upon England was announced with much parade. The count de Vaux, now become a marſhal of France, was entruſted with the chief command, which gave great mortification to the marſhal de Broglie; it was even an act of injuſtice, becauſe his brother, who was juſt dead, had been occupied during the laſt twenty years, in arranging all the *minutiæ* of all the practicable projects for this purpoſe. The well earned reputation of this general, who had aſſiſted in all the labours of his brother, and his aſſiſtant la Rozière, ought certainly

tainly to have given him the preference over Mr. de Vaux, now nearly worn out in the ſervice, and unable to undergo the fatigues of a campaign, more eſpecially as he had but juſt been appointed a marſhal of France, and had never acted as a commander in chief, except during the petty expedition againſt Corſica.

The officers appointed under the marſhal de Vaux were the duke d'Harcourt and Mr. de Langeron, both of them lieutenant generals; the ſecond of theſe was not in a condition for actual ſervice. The army conſiſted of no more than thirty thouſand men, but it had a very numerous *ſtaff*, and, among other appointments, *two* quarter maſters general, in the perſons of Meſſrs. de Jaucourt and de Lambert, a circumſtance never heard of before. Neither la Rozière nor Dumouriez were put down in the firſt liſt of ſtaff officers. However, Mr. de Langeron ſoon after cauſed la Rozière to be appointed *third* quarter maſter general, and the marſhal de Vaux, recollecting Dumouriez, required that he ſhould be nominated aſſiſtant quarter maſter general, as he had been ten years before in Corſica, retaining at the ſame time his command at Cherbourg.

The plans for this enterpriſe were very

vague, and ill-combined, or rather there were not any real ones. Mr. de Maurepas, the moſt criminal of miniſters, and one of the principal authors of all the calamities of France, was jeſting daily upon this *deſcent*, ſaying, that it exiſted no where *but in the breeches of Mr. de Vaux*; becauſe this reſpectable old man happened to be afflicted with an infirmity of this nature; a vulgar joke, which all the courtiers diſcovered to be very witty, and which coſt France one hundred millions of *livres* in unneceſſary expenſe!

They were abſurd enough to have two ſeparate ports for the embarkation of this little army: theſe were Havre and St. Maloes. Dumouriez propoſed that they ſhould form a junction in the road of Cherbourg, a central port in the channel, which would have avoided every poſſibility of danger in reſpect to the paſſage, being ſituated on the outſide of all the iſles and rocks which ſurround St. Maloes. But the miniſtry wiſhed for two armies, and two expeditions, on purpoſe to ſatiate the vain-glorious diſpoſitions of ſeveral leaders, and therefore preparations were made for two feeble attacks.

The marſhal de Vaux was inſtructed to ſail from St. Maloes in order to attack or menace Plymouth,

mouth, while the duke d'Harcourt was to depart from Havre, on purpoſe to attack Portſmouth, or the iſle of Wight. The army of Havre conſiſted of about twelve thouſand men, and the marquis de Lambert left St. Maloes to act as quarter-maſter-general. That of St. Maloes amounted to ſeventeen or eighteen thouſand men; Jaucourt and la Rozière were attached to it with the ſame rank, which was long refuſed to the latter, notwithſtanding his tranſcendant merit, the length of his ſtudies, and his valuable labours reſpecting England.

Dumouriez received orders to ſerve with the army of St. Maloes. It was not without aſtoniſhment he perceived, that the duke d'Harcourt had not cauſed him to be appointed to act with the troops under him, as they were deſtined to be employed in an attack that had occupied ſo much of his attention; he did not, however, endeavour to penetrate into his motives, and, indeed, never once ſpoke to him on the ſubject. He eaſily conſoled himſelf for this neglect, becauſe, 1ſt, he was about to rejoin his old general, for whom he entertained a great veneration; and, 2dly, he predicted beforehand, that the army of Havre would not achieve any thing,

the place of departure having been ill choſen, and too far up the channel. He founded his conjectures alſo on the timidity of our old captains of men of war, who were utterly ignorant of the navigation of this ſtrait, and who conſidered it as a very bold enterpriſe to penetrate as far as Havre with a convoy.

On his arrival at St. Maloes, he aſſiſted Lambert, a general officer of great activity and talents, with whom he formed a friendſhip that will endure through life, whatever difference there may be between their opinions and their fates. But he predicted from the very beginning that they would never embark, and he regularly communicated to him the obſervations which he tranſmitted every week to Mr. de Montbarey, on purpoſe to demonſtrate that the project was chimerical. He ſpent three months at St. Maloes, during which time his mind was continually occupied about the immenſe details relative to this embarkation, by which means he perfected the knowledge he had obtained on this ſubject at Toulon in 1768.

Mr. d'Orvilliers at length appeared with the combined fleet at the mouth of the channel, then proceeded to parade before Plymouth, which he might have taken with his marines alone,

alone, and permitted admiral Hardy to eſcape, by means of a very dexterous retreat, into St. George's channel. The army at St. Maloes was at one time in hopes of embarking; this was on the arrival of the frigate *la Magicienne*, with a letter from lieutenant-general de Latouche-Treville, announcing that he was about to take the tranſports under the protection of his diviſion.

Dumouriez, who went on board, and learned from the officers the frightful ſituation to which the fleet was reduced, was certain that they would never attempt a deſcent, and refuſed to embark the oxen and horſes, which he allowed to remain in the marſhes of Dol and Avanches. Intelligence was received, a few days after, of the return of the grand fleet to Breſt, on which part of the magazines that had been formed at St. Maloes and Havre was diſpoſed of for a mere trifle.

As he had no longer any thing to detain him at St. Maloes, he became heartily tired of it, more eſpecially as it prevented him from completing his important labours relative to Cherbourg. Commodore Carteret happening about this time to menace that port with ſeventeen men of war, and two fire ſhips, he accordingly

made uſe of this circumſtance as a pretext for reſuming his command there.

In 1780, the duke d'Harcourt was entruſted with the command of a little camp at St. Saveur le Vicompte, in the peninſula of the Cotentin. Lambert was his quarter-maſter-general; and Dumouriez acted as deputy to the latter. He only made one viſit to the camp, and reſided conſtantly in his own houſe, which was only ſix leagues diſtant. This event proved uſeful, it being at this period that, with the aſſiſtance of the duke, he found means to get the enterprize reſpecting Cherbourg finally decided upon. Lambert was very uſeful on this occaſion, both by means of his influence with the duke d'Harcourt, and his energy, a quality which he poſſeſſed in a high degree. No military event, a few cannonades excepted, occurred within the peninſula until the peace. Dumouriez was made a brigadier of the armies in 1788; the appointments of his employment were increaſed to twelve thouſand *livres*, in conſequence of uniting with it the emoluments of his place on the ſtaff, which was then ſuppreſſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Port of Cherbourg.

THE plan for forming a port at Cherbourg is one of the moſt hardy and glorious enterpriſes of the preſent age; it does honour to the memory of the monarch, who approved it, and had the courage to iſſue orders for its execution, the individuals with whom it originated, and the nation that conceived it. If a greater degree of ſimplicity had been adopted in the confection of theſe gigantic labours, they would have been rendered more perfect; it is by the mere force of art and talents that this brilliant undertaking has been marred; it might have been completed long before this, and at a leſs expenſe.

The French revolution occaſioned the ceſſation of thoſe enormous works. They may be reſumed at ſome future day, and great advantages can be ſtill derived from what has been already achieved. But it is alſo to be obſerved, that if the proper means be not made uſe of

to complete the moles to their intended elevation, to finiſh them in a ſtrong and durable manner, and above all, to terminate their extremities, they will be fretted away by the inceſſant percuſſion of the waves, while their materials, diſperſed throughout the whole extent of the road, will form banks and ſhoals, which may render it unfit for the reception of men of war. The gifts of nature will thus be totally perverted, and the inconvenience ariſing will prove ſo much the more fatal, as it will be utterly impoſſible to remedy the evil.

France lies under eſſential obligations for the enterpriſe at Cherbourg to three men, the duke d'Harcourt, Labretonnière, and Dumouriez. The firſt, who was governor of the province, and much beloved by the unfortunate Louis XVI, conſecrated to the ſucceſs of this grand ſcheme his extenſive credit, his pen, his time, and his health. The ſecond conceived the plan of ſheltering the entrance into the road, which was before too open, and employed all the tenaciouſneſs of his character in carrying the idea into execution. He was a gentleman born in the neighbourhood of Cherbourg; he became a captain of a man of war, and was a very excellent ſeaman. The third, fifteen years before

his

his nomination to the command of Cherbourg, had expreſſed a deſire, which might be ſaid to have proceeded from *inſpiration*, to ſee a port created there. Employed afterwards on the coaſts bordering upon the channel, he had maintained, both in writing and converſation, in 1776 and 1777, that it was neceſſary to conſtruct a harbour at Cherbourg; appointed to an official ſituation there in 1778, he had directed all his labours, his induſtry, and his perſeverance, towards this particular object; and he never ceaſed to write and ſpeak on the ſubject, until he at length procured his ſcheme to be adopted.

For a long time previous to this period, there had been much talk about a port at Cherbourg; and the immortal Vauban had traced out a plan to this effect. There alſo exiſted many others, by different perſons, but that of this great man was the moſt worthy of notice. He had even cauſed a large piece of ground to be purchaſed behind the ditch of Galet, called *Pré-du-roi*. It was there that he propoſed to excavate an extenſive baſin for men of war. He had alſo conceived the project of another port at la Hogue. In order to appreciate the extraordinary merit of Vauban, it is neceſſary to ſurvey

the coaſts of France. There is not a ſingle favourable ſituation from Dunkirk to Antibes concerning which he has not left traces of his genius, that is to ſay, either a military or commercial plan, as beſt ſuited with its local relations. His imagination has no where been guilty of exaggeration, and he has conſtantly kept within the bounds of what was at once uſeful and practicable. Dumouriez had fully conſidered Vauban's ſcheme relative to Cherbourg; it was this of which he was anxious for the adoption; and it was with the utmoſt ſorrow, that he beheld ideas carried into execution which had never been ſuggeſted by this great man, and that too by perſons of middling talents, who affected to poſſeſs more genius than he.

Nature has ſupplied Cherbourg with every thing neceſſary for the ſucceſs of a great project, by affording all the means requiſite for its execution. The ſea preſents two roadſteads, with excellent anchoring ground; the one the little, or inner, eighteen thouſand fathoms in length, and extending from the iſle of Pelée to Homet; it is much leſs in point of breadth, becauſe the ſea becomes ſhallow towards the coaſt, which envelopes it in the manner of a ſemicircle;

ſemicircle; it is, however, almoſt half a league broad, meaſuring it in a ſtraight line from the piers of the harbour for merchantmen. The great road is near four thouſand fathoms in length, from the iſle of Pelée to the point of Querqueville, and about five or ſix hundred fathoms broad oppoſite Homet and St. Ann's creek.

This road can never be blockaded; for as the great channel current commences a little beyond cape Levi to the eaſt, and the point of Querqueville to the weſt, the cruiſers would be carried within its reach, either by the flood or ebb tide. Out of thirty-two points of the compaſs, there are twenty-two favourable for entering and leaving this road, and at a hundred fathoms length beyond it, a veſſel is entirely clear of every headland, and at liberty to proceed in any direction whatever.

The road is covered on the right by the iſle of Pelée, on which an impregnable fortreſs, conſiſting of maſſive granite, and provided with one hundred cannon, has been conſtructed. Its centre is protected by means of a ſimilar fortification, built on the rocks ſituated on the outſide of Homet. This defends the little road, and alſo the paſs in the middle of the great road. The left

flank

flank of the great road is defended by the fort of Querqueville, which exhibits a battery of forty-five pieces of cannon, in the form of a half moon. Dumouriez does not know whether this fort have been finiſhed.

A fertile plain extends all the way from Querqueville to Cherbourg. The latter poſſeſſed a harbour for merchantmen, which Mr. Trudaine cauſed to be conſtructed. At about a hundred paces behind the baſin, mountains of granite and ſlate rearing their heads, extend as far as Barfleur, and running weſt by the pariſh of Querqueville, terminate at length at the cape of Jobourg. Charming water, a pure and healthy atmoſphere, and a climate cold, but ſupportable, all contribute to inſpire the idea of building a town there. It is not poſſible to fortify it, but the natural defences of the neighbouring mountains conſtitute its ſecurity, and to theſe might be added a few entrenched camps, which would be eaſily formed in places marked out for that purpoſe, in caſe it was menaced with a formidable deſcent.

Cherbourg already poſſeſſes a town which cannot fail to increaſe, and a harbour for merchantmen by the ſide of that intended by Mr. de Vauban for men of war; accordingly, in time

time of war, all the preparations might be here made for a grand invaſion, which aſſuredly is the beſt menace that can be employed againſt the Engliſh.

Between fort Homet and fort Galet is an excavation called *la foſſe du Galet*, which nature has formed to ſerve as a canal to a baſin. Behind this is a long neck of land, which Vauban intended to have dug for the purpoſe of receiving men of war. On ſounding it, thirty feet of earth has been found without the intervention of rock, and this too in a ſituation five or ſix feet below the level of the ſea, which would allow a ſufficient depth of water for keeping the largeſt veſſels afloat.

The excavation and conſtruction of this baſin, including the flood-gates, &c. together with the cutting of the canal, might have been executed within the ſpace of three years, and that too without its being poſſible for an enemy to have interrupted the work; the expenſe would not have exceeded twelve or fifteen millions of *livres* at the utmoſt. The greateſt coſt and difficulty would have been occaſioned by the machinery requiſite for preventing the inundation of the ſea. The baſin, and the

neceſſary

neceſſary buildings, might then have been afterwards incloſed with a wall, a military town could alſo have been conſtructed, and all the arſenals, magazines, and barracks erected within a large ſpot bounded by fort Galet, the bay of Cherbourg, and fort Homet. This town might have even been iſolated from the adjacent mountains, and fortified. Fort Galet, provided its outworks had been extended along the rocks which project more than two hundred fathoms in front of its preſent poſition, would have defended the entrance into the harbour. Proper buoys ſtationed in the little road would have pointed out the proper anchoring place for veſſels, and at the ſame time would have facilitated the working of them into the port.

Such was the plan of the marſhal de Vauban for the eſtabliſhment of thirty or forty ſail of the line, oppoſite to, and only twenty leagues diſtance from Portſmouth. This project is grand, but ſimple, and its execution eaſy, but certain. Dumouriez adopted it with ardour, but it was made to give way to that propoſed by Labretonniere, which was more extenſive, more bold, and far more expenſive. With the forty millions that were expended in the courſe of ſix years,

years, merely to form the outline of Labretonniere's plan, and perhaps to ſpoil it, that of Vauban might have been perfected.

Before any ſcheme whatever was adopted, it was neceſſary to decide a queſtion about ſuperiority, which had exiſted during a hundred years, between la Hougue and Cherbourg. The advantages of the latter have been already ſtated. Here follows an account of what the former was, and ſtill is, for no change whatever has taken place. The road of la Hougue is very beautiful, and at the ſame time poſſeſſes a great depth of water. It is ſituated at the bottom of the bay of Caen, being terminated on one ſide by the Veys, which are the diſcharge of ſeven rivers into the ſea, and on another by the prolongation of the rocks, which extend almoſt a mile in front of cape Gatteville, where a light-houſe has been erected, to warn mariners of their danger. A very long bank, termed *le banc du bec*, running north and ſouth, divides the road into two parts. The great road is on the outſide, and extends itſelf from the iſle Tatihou as far as the iſles of St. Marcoul. The little road is ſituated between this bank and the land, and reaches from the iſle of Tatihou to a little on the other ſide of

Morſaline.

Morſaline. Theſe two extenſive roadſteads are capable of containing the whole of the Engliſh and French fleets, and exhibit a ſurface four or five times larger than the road of Cherbourg.

The following are its defects:

1. All the different diviſions of the eaſt wind prevent ſhips from leaving this road, while all the diviſions of a weſt wind preclude an entrance into it. In theſe caſes it is therefore neceſſary to anchor in the great road, and wait for a favourable breeze. Now, as the channel is nothing more than a canal formed by the paſſage of the ocean between two continents, ſituated north and ſouth, the winds in this narrow ſea, as well as the currents, always take an eaſterly or weſterly direction.

2. The race at Barfleur, occaſioned by the breaking of the waves upon the rocks in front of the light-houſe of Gatteville, is very dangerous, and to this danger every veſſel is expoſed, both on entering and leaving the road; it affects even ſmall craft, but is ſtill more to be dreaded by ſhips of the line drawing from twenty to thirty feet of water. If, in order to avoid this, a veſſel ſtretch into the bay of Caen, there is great riſk of running on the breakers of the baſin, or the rocks called *Calvados*, oppoſite Caen.

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3. The road is expoſed to a great current, from the impetuoſity of the Veys during the ebb tide, which throws a veſſel out of her courſe.

4. The iſle of Tatihou might be rendered capable of affording an excellent defence for the left flank of the road, but no battery could be eſtabliſhed towards its right, unleſs it were upon the *banc du bec*; but as it is covered with thirty-five feet of water on this part, the foundations of a fort muſt be laid thirty-five feet under the ſurface of the waves. Two intermediate forts muſt alſo be built on the ſame bank, towards Tatihou, and its greateſt elevation is fourteen feet under water.

5. The fort of la Hougue cannot be of any ſervice in defending the road, becauſe it is ſituated behind the anchoring ground. The ſhore is alſo very flat, and the ſea retires from eight to twelve hundred fathoms from the land; no battery, therefore, can be erected, ſo as to reach beyond, or even ſo far as the anchoring ground.

6. There is not a ſingle quarry in the neighbourhood. The country is marſhy, and unhealthy, and the water brackiſh: the inhabitants would therefore experience the ſame diſadvantages there as at Rochefort.

7. In ſhort, la Hougue does not, like Cherbourg, preſent a town already built, and a harbour for merchantmen conſtructed beforehand. It is alſo deſtitute of ſaliant angles, and there are are not any advanced batteries facing the ſea.

Notwithſtanding all this, la Hougue had at leaſt as many partiſans as Cherbourg; and this aroſe from the reputation it acquired in conſequence of Mr. de Tourville's ſea fight in 1692, ſtill known by its name*; and yet it is this very engagement that ought to have diſguſted every body with la Hougue. The combat commenced before Cherbourg. Mr. de Tourville, after having fought heroically during three days, with forty-two ſhips againſt eighty-four, endeavoured to double cape Jobourg, and clear the race of Blanchard, on purpoſe to take ſhelter at Breſt and St. Maloes. Twenty-two ſhips found means to ſlip up the great channel, and ſave themſelves at the latter place. The tide of flood having driven back the remainder

* The battle of la Hougue.—Admiral Rooke, on this occaſion, burnt the French admiral's ſhip, with twelve large men of war; this event happened the day after the victory gained by admiral Ruſſel, near Cherbourg, in May, 1692. —*Tranſ.*

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of the fleet, three men of war ran aſhore in the road of Cherbourg, and fifteen or ſixteen more, ſtill carried along by the tides, took ſhelter with marſhal de Tourville, in the road of la Hougue. King James, who was ſtationed with an army in the iſles of Tatihou and la Hougue, beheld all Mr. de Tourville's diviſion burnt, without being able to afford it any ſuccour.

It is eaſy from this fact to demonſtrate, that the proper ſpot for the conſtruction of a harbour is at Cherbourg, in order to avoid a long chaſe in caſe of a defeat and a ſubſequent purſuit; and that if a port had at that time exiſted there, Mr. de Tourville might have retired thither with his whole fleet, without experiencing any danger whatever. In the courſe of the diſcuſſion Dumouriez derived great advantage from this argument.

He drew up three memorials, which were the firſt that were written during this diſpute; "a parallel between la Hougue and Cherbourg," in two columns; "an analyſis in order to convey certain preciſe ideas as to the nature of the eſtabliſhment intended for Cherbourg;" in which he endeavoured to prove that it ought to be confined to thirty ſail of the line, while a ſecond harbour might be conſtructed at Boulogne, for

a dozen more, inſtead of collecting them all in one point. The following was his mode of reaſoning:

" War has certain general principles, which muſt be adopted as a baſis, on whatever element it may be carried on. If your enemy build a fortreſs on his own territory, you ought to erect another by way of ſelf-defence. The Engliſh poſſeſs three ports in the channel; the Downs *, Portſmouth, and Plymouth; have therefore three other ports to obſerve their motions, Boulogne, Cherbourg, and Breſt. No advantage can reſult from too large a port. Our colonies, and thoſe appertaining to the Engliſh, oblige us to carry on the war at a diſtance from home. We are never under the neceſſity of having a decided ſuperiority in the channel, but when one ſingle object is to be attained: a deſcent on England. This is a caſe occurring ſo rarely, that it may not happen in the courſe of ſeveral centuries. Even then, the ſuperiority is not fixed to any determinate number of veſſels, but it is proportional: the moment that all the foreign ex-

* The Downs cannot be termed a port, they partake infinitely more of the nature of a roadſtead.—*Tranſ.*

peditions

peditions have taken place, it will often happen that twenty ſail of the line will maintain a ſuperiority in the channel, more eſpecially, if, by poſſeſſing three ports, you oblige the enemy to divide his forces."

The third memorial related particularly to Cherbourg, and while he detailed all its advantages, he at the ſame time inſiſted on the neceſſity of following Vauban's plan. He added to theſe three memorials the great work relative to the Cotentin. The duke d'Harcourt, who had alſo taken great pains, at length procured ſeveral councils to be held expreſsly on this ſubject, when, after a long debate, it was finally decided, that the project relative to la Hogue ſhould be entirely abandoned, and the works at Cherbourg commenced.

This firſt point being thus ſettled, they then proceeded to examine Labretonnière's project. The whole body of marine officers pretended, that as France already poſſeſſed three naval departments, and three ports for men of war, any more would be unneceſſary. They did not wiſh for a port in the channel, but only an aſylum or place of refuge there; in ſhort, they never explained their ideas on this ſubject with any degree of preciſion. Du-

mouriez aſſerted, that a place of refuge could be no other than a port, that is to ſay, a baſin with docks for refitting, new-maſting, and repairing men of war, alſo magazines of maſts, hemp, cables, ſails, arſenals, hoſpitals, barracks, lighters, ſhallops, large and ſmall boats, tenders, punts, &c.; for the entrance of French ſquadrons into the channel, in the midſt of the three great marine eſtabliſhments of England, muſt neceſſarily bring on engagements, and veſſels are but badly refitted in a roadſtead, where they might indeed be attacked by the enemy. He thought on this very account, that it would be better to poſſeſs two naval ſtations than one, and to conſtruct two ports of the ſecond order, rather than a ſingle great port.

He found that Mr. de Vauban's plan contained every thing that could be wiſhed for in order to render Cherbourg a naval eſtabliſhment, that ſhould be neither too great, nor too little. It alſo poſſeſſed another great advantage over every other project, which was, that it might be carried into execution during the war, without any danger of being interrupted by the enemy; for it was under their very noſes, as it were, that the battery on the iſle of Pelée had been erected in 1788, and that the

the conſtruction of a fort on this iſland, as alſo that of Homet, had been afterwards puſhed forwards with the utmoſt vigour.

Labretonnière had conceived a plan founded on the ill digeſted ideas of the marine *corps*, in conſequence of which, a place of refuge only was to be formed. According to this ſcheme, along a line drawn from the iſle Pelée to the point of Querqueville, a double dike with three paſſes or mouths, each of five or ſix hundred fathoms in breadth, was to be conſtructed, one to the eaſt of Pelèe, a ſecond in the centre, bearing due north from the harbour for merchantmen, and the third on the weſt, near Querqueville. By means of this dike he ſhut up the great road, and procured an anchoring ground for eighty-five ſail of the line; the entrance for men of war being neceſſarily through one of the three paſſes, was always protected by one of the three forts. If, as they had no manner of doubt, they ſucceeded in raiſing this dike to a level with the ſpring tide, it would then be very eaſy to build four forts on the extremities of each of the two dikes, which would produce a croſs fire at every entrance or paſs. Theſe dikes would, as it was ſuppoſed, be cemented with the

rock by means of the moſſes, the ſea weed, the marine plants of all kinds, and alſo the cruſtaceous fiſhes that inhabited the ſpot.

This plan, which was traced out upon a hydrographical chart of the road, acquired the ſuffrages of every body. The idea was indeed great as well as novel; if we contemplate the wall, which was to be oppoſed to the billows and the winds; theſe forts, which were about to be eſtabliſhed in the ocean; and the roadſtead, which Larozière, Dumouriez, all the ſea officers, and the great Vauban himſelf, had conſidered as circumſcribed by a line traced from the iſle Pelèe to the point of Homet, thus inſtantly expanded, and more than tripled, in conſequence of the acceſſion of all the ſpace encloſed within a line drawn from the iſle of Pelèe to Querqueville. It was a cultivation of the waſte of the ocean; and the imagination, aſſiſted by the chart that accompanied the memorial, already beheld a mighty fleet anchored within this immenſe ſpace, and completely ſheltered and protected.

Mr. de Vauban's project, and the opinions of thoſe who ſupported it, were rejected as ſo many petty and contemptible ideas. Nobody ever dreamed of calculating the ſum that works

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of this kind, conſtructed in the open ſea, at a diſtance from any coaſt, and more than a league and half from the quarries, with which the intercourſe muſt be kept up by means of large veſſels, was likely to coſt. Nothing elſe was ſtudied but the means of ſucceeding in an enterprize worthy of the Titans, and of which no country, and no hiſtory furniſhed a model.

Dumouriez, after having long oppoſed this ſcheme, ſeeing that he, who was neither a ſeaman, an engineer, nor an artiſt, was alone adverſe to it; beholding all the naval officers, the moſt celebrated members of the academy of ſciences, two *corps* of engineers, both of them very able, and rivals to each other, that of the roads and bridges, and that of military tacticks, admiring this project as a wonder, not heſitating as to its ſucceſs, and employed ſolely in diſputing with a noble emulation on the beſt means of carrying it into execution; deemed it proper, notwithſtanding his own fears, to follow the torrent. Being well acquainted with the ardent genius of his countrymen, he had no manner of doubt, but that, if they once became diſguſted with this great project, with which they were then ſo much enraptured, they would run into the other extreme, and

abandon every idea of conſtructing a harbour in that ſpot.

He alſo ſuppoſed, that when once this project was adopted, that of the wet dock projected by Mr. de Vauban would follow of courſe; that even if the plan relative to the dike ſhould fail, and be found incapable of execution, they would not be inclined to throw away ſo great a ſum, and incur ſo much diſgrace, without accompliſhing ſomething, and that national vanity being once brought into play, they would be forced to conſtruct a port, if they did not ſucceed in forming a place of refuge; in ſhort, that if they failed in the *greater*, they would afterwards undertake the *leſs*. He therefore no longer inſiſted on his own opinion, which would have been an uſeleſs piece of obſtinacy. He even endeavoured to perſuade himſelf, that he was in the wrong, and endeavoured to elevate his imagination to the height of ſo ſublime an enterprize.

He however marked down the principal objections, which the knowledge of this ſea, and the adjoining coaſts, preſented to his continual meditations; but he ſhewed this at firſt to his friends alone, and he reſerved it for a period when the experience of the difficulties attending

attending the undertaking would have cooled men's heads, and given him an opportunity of being heard.

In oppoſition to the moſt favourable hypotheſis, that is to ſay, to the complete ſucceſs of this marvellous project, he obſerved:

" 1. That the whole of that part of the road between Querqueville, and the point of Homet, called St. Anne's creek, did not poſſeſs ſufficient depth for an anchoring ground, more eſpecially as this creek is full of rocks and ſhallows; accordingly, he conſidered this ſpace as a mere continuation of the ſtrait of Querqueville, leading to the true road, which began oppoſite fort Homet. This ſubtracted one third from the anchoring ground laid down in Labretonnière's plan.

" He therefore thought it unneceſſary to be at the enormous expence of protecting this with a dike, when after all it would be no better than a long canal, and was of opinion that one half of the labour might be curtailed by conſtructing one dike only, running from the opening at the iſle of Pelée as far as Homet, and by terminating this dike with a ſweep, in order to confine the entrance of the road between the end of it and fort Homet.

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" 2. In addition to the inutility of one half of the work, that is to ſay, of the weſtern branch, he alſo believed it to be dangerous. What conſtitutes the goodneſs of the road of Cherbourg proceeds from this circumſtance, that the ſea does not there find any obſtacle to its motion during the flux and reflux of the tide, but flows tranquilly, and without any effort, along the coaſts, and conſequently does not agitate this open road. By confining the paſſage of ſuch a maſs of waters, a great current would be produced, eſpecially in the weſtern channel, which would traverſe the whole road in a diagonal direction, and thus render the navigation difficult, and the courſe followed by veſſels dangerous. In addition to this, the violence and the rapidity of the waves, being increaſed by ſuch an oppoſition, muſt of courſe undermine the ſide of the creek of St. Anne, and the battery of Choiſeul, and form a variety of obſtacles, ſand banks, and ſhoals, in the road.

" Nature had furniſhed him with a very appoſite example of ſimilar effects, produced by the violence of the ſea on the weſtern coaſts of the peninſula oppoſite the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, where three rapid currents had

had been formed in conſequence of the confinement of the waves, *le raz Blanchard, le grand, et le petit ruau.* With the ſand waſhed away from theſe coaſts a very flat and extenſive ſhore had been formed, and the ſea being thus in a manner impriſoned within a narrow channel, in conſequence of theſe obſtacles, roſe to the height of forty-five feet, while it never exceeded twenty-two at Cherbourg and la Hougue, and throughout the whole bay of Caen, where it flowed without any difficulty. He therefore was of opinion, that by oppoſing ſimilar obſtacles before Cherbourg, the ſea would be forced to produce ſimilar effects.

" 3. He found equal difficulties in the execution of the eaſtern branch. A very ſtrong current would be eſtabliſhed in the ſame manner in the paſs of the iſle Pelée; but as the ſea was not ſtopped by any continent, and a free paſſage remained to it all around the iſle, its violence would of courſe be leſs; it would, however, in time, tear up the bottom of the creek formed by cape Levi. Thus, on the whole, whether taken on a ſmall or a great ſcale, he ſtill perceived much danger likely to ariſe from placing any factitious obſtacle in the road

of Cherbourg, whatever might be the advantages expected to reſult from it.

" There was alſo another circumſtance to be conſidered, when the works were finiſhed, the forts only excepted, which could not be conſtructed immediately, becauſe it would be neceſſary to afford time for the dikes to ſettle, and become firm, before it would be prudent to riſk ſuch heavy maſſes on their ſuperficies, the Engliſh might come, and ſink veſſels laden with ſtones in the paſſes or entrances into the anchoring ground. Such an enterpriſe was bold, but it was not impoſſible in point of execution, and in this caſe the road of Cherbourg would be converted into a mere mouſe-trap."

None of theſe obſervations were made poſterior to the event; he wrote them down at different periods, during the execution of the project, and tranſmitted them to the duke d'Harcourt and the miniſters. They produced nothing but diſtruſt and vexation on the part of his ſuperiours, and theſe in their turn afforded ample opportunity for the exerciſe of his philoſophy. In addition to this, they procured him a number of enemies; for, in France, difference of opinion frequently begets hatred, and engen-

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ders animoſities which often lead to diſagreeable conſequences. Who would have ſaid, twenty years ago, that the metaphyſical opinions of J. J. Rouſſeau, the encyclopédiſts, the economiſts, and the publiciſts, would occaſion, and that too in a poliſhed kingdom, the deſtruction of all the principles of religion, juſtice, and humanity?

In 1781, a competition took place, for the beſt practical plan of a dike. The length of each of its two branches ought to have been from ten to eleven hundred fathoms, and the height from thirty-four to thirty-eight and forty feet, according to the inequalities of the bottom, if they were content with elevating it to a level with the low water mark, and of twenty or thirty feet higher, if it were intended to ſurmount the tide of flood. It was to be at leaſt ten fathoms broad at the top, and it was calculated, that, by allowing one foot in three of ſlope towards the baſe, it muſt be from one hundred to one hundred and twenty fathoms in breadth below.

A great number of plans were preſented, but three only diſcuſſed. The firſt, delivered in by Labretonnière, was to purchaſe and ſink a great number of old veſſels filled with ſtones; theſe were

were not only to ſerve for the outline of the dike, but alſo to arreſt ſuch fragments of rocks as might be thrown in afterwards in order to complete it. There were two great objections to this project:

1. It was almoſt impoſſible to immerſe theſe veſſels in a proper manner, as they would be liable, from the form of their keels, to incline to one ſide; the dike, therefore, muſt have reſembled a field of battle covered with dead bodies, heaped on each other without any order whatever.

2. He had not calculated the number of veſſels required to form this double line, which was to encloſe a wall of dry ſtones. More than four hundred and fifty would have been wanting. It would have been neceſſary alſo for them to have been all nearly equal in point of ſize; their decks too ought to have poſſeſſed an elevation of at leaſt thirty feet. How was it poſſible to procure ſuch a number of ſhips of theſe dimenſions? However old and rotten they might be, their hulks muſt at leaſt have coſt ten thouſand *livres* apiece. It would have been alſo neceſſary to have rigged, maſted, and put crews on board of them, for the purpoſe of bringing them thither, filling them with ſtones,

carrying

carrying them into the road, and ſinking them. Thus it would at leaſt have coſt ſix millions of *livres* to have procured the mere ſhells, and this expence did not in the leaſt tend to the diminution of the ſum required for the conſtruction of the dike.

The ſecond project originated with general de Caux, ſuperintendant of the engineers; but inſtead of contributing to the plan of a dike, it entirely deſtroyed it. He propoſed to begin by forming an iſland nearly in the centre of the line traced between the iſle of Pelée and Querqueville, and then to conſtruct a fort there. The mode ſuggeſted by him was to employ large wooden frames of the figure of an oblong ſquare, thirty-eight feet high, fifty long, and from twenty to thirty broad. Fourteen of theſe frames were to be fixed and ſunk together, ſo as to form an oblong ſquare, the vacuities to be filled up with ſtones cemented together by means of a mortar that would bind under water. Theſe frames were to be half filled with maſon work, previouſly to their being launched, and docks muſt have been made for them on ſhore. They were afterwards to be ſtationed in the road by means of four large anchors, on the ſpot where they were intended to be ſunk; the maſon

ſon work was then to be completed, care being taken to keep them afloat by means of camels*, or caſks, and afterwards to immerſe them by degrees, as ſoon as this operation was completed. This project was very ingenious, and might have been executed in a lake, but not in the road of Cherbourg.

The third plan was formed by Mr. de Ceſſart, inſpector of roads and bridges, and a man of great talents: it was more fooliſh, but at the ſame time more brilliant than any of the reſt. All his details were perfect, and preſented a ſimple and ſublime idea, attended with a ſmall expence, and of a quick and eaſy execution, ſo that, when aſſiſted by his charming drawings, it ſeduced every body, more eſpecially Louis XVI, who for ſeveral years had his cloſet hung with theſe deſigns. This was the famous project of the cones.

Each cone, the name of which indicates the form, conſiſted of a large baſket work, compoſed of thick planks, firmly connected together by means of iron bands. Its dimenſions were

* Theſe are large flat-bottomed veſſels, ſomewhat in the ſhape of punts; they are uſed by the Ruſſians in the Neva, on purpoſe to carry their men of war over the ſhoals.—*Tranſ.*

prodigious,

prodigious, being ſixty feet in height, ſixty feet in diameter at the ſummit, and about one hundred and fifty at the baſe. Theſe enormous machines were to be ſunk baſe to baſe, and afterwards filled by means of ſtones thrown with the hands between the interſtices; the ſea itſelf, by its own agitation, was to ſettle theſe ſtones, at leaſt as far as low water mark; the upper part might then be eaſily managed by the workmen, the dry ſtones being either heaped together, or cemented by means of mortar. The dike was intended to conſiſt of ninety cones; theſe were to appear like ſo many columns ſpringing out of the ocean; while the vacant ſpaces between them would, on account of their narrowneſs, preclude the poſſibility of a paſſage for veſſels. The violence of the ſurge was to be ſo regulated by theſe columns as to render the road perfectly calm and tranquil; nay, the diſtances between them might even be cloſed up with ſtones as far as low water mark, and this would render the whole more durable. The time for the conſtruction, immerſion, and filling of each cone was calculated at three months. De Ceſſart aſked only for the refuſe materials of the dock-yards; and the eſtimate of the expenſe of each

cone, when filled, did not exceed one hundred and ten thouſand *livres*; ſuppoſing it had amounted to three times this ſum, if the project itſelf had not been a mad one, no fault could have been found with the charge; for by expending three millions, and ſinking ten cones, annually, in the courſe of ten years, the moſt marvellous work ever heard of would have been exhibited—that of a colonnade in the open ſea.

Dumouriez did not chooſe to enter into a trial of ſkill with the moſt celebrated artiſts in France; he had, however, formed, and committed to paper, a plan that was at once very ſimple, and very rude; this he did not offer for adoption, although he explained it to every one, who expreſſed any inclination to be acquainted with the particulars. Here follows an account of his ſcheme: behind the baſin of Cherbourg riſes the mountain of *Roule*, covered from top to bottom with enormous blocks of granite, detached, overſet, and broken into large maſſes in the courſe of a number of centuries, in conſequence of deluges, or earthquakes. There was a ſufficient quantity here to form a conſiderable part of the dike, without opening the quarries. Inſtead of breaking theſe noble blocks, in order to place them either on board old veſſels or in cones,

cones, he wiſhed them to be tranſported whole into the road by means of large flat-bottomed boats, which are called *heux** when employed on the rivers; and to accompliſh this, he propoſed that a canal ſhould be opened at the bottom of the baſin, which ſhould reach to the foot of the mountain, whence another canal ſhould communicate with the ſea, between the right hand ſide of the port and road of Tourlaville. The canal behind the baſin might have received the tide by means of the flood-gates appertaining to it; theſe were to be carefully ſhut at high water, on which the ſtream, being ſuffered to diſcharge itſelf into the ſea through the external canal, would have carried ſuch veſſels as had been previouſly loaded at the bottom of the mountain along with it. There was not one of the blocks leſs than ſix feet every way, ſo that a fathom in length would have taken very little time to raiſe. The vacuities might have been afterwards filled up with ſtones of a ſmaller dimenſion; but this, indeed, would have been ſuperfluous. A hundred boats entering by the baſin, and paſſing through the external canal, ſo as to perform a voyage every tide, al-

* A ſpecies of *punts*, or *prames*, the latter of which have a very ſhallow keel.—*Tranſ.*

lowing each to be navigated by three ſailors, aſſiſted by two workmen, added to five hundred men employed on the mountain in ſending down the blocks, and loading the punts, would have tranſported and ſunk, in the courſe of one month, from fifteen to eighteen thouſand blocks. He was well aſſured, that the whole operation might have been completed in the courſe of three ſummers, but then it would have been rude and ſimple, like nature herſelf.

He was preſent at a great council of the miniſters, which aſſembled in Paris during the winter of 1782, 1783, at which all the learned aſſiſted. The project of the cones was then adopted; his opinion was contained in a memorial, in which he examined the reſpective merits of the three different plans; he obſerved, that he preferred that of the cones, becauſe it was the only one on which an eſſay could be made; that for this purpoſe it would be neceſſary to conſtruct, fill, and ſink a cone, and leave it two or three years by way of experiment, and that during this time, the other works relative to this eſtabliſhment might be going on. He ſuggeſted this with an intention to bring the project of the excavation of the baſin in the *pré du roi* into notice.

De

De Ceſſart went to reſide at Cherbourg, with a number of engineers belonging to the roads and bridges, and completed the firſt cone. The manner of conſtructing, of raiſing them above the docks in which they were built, although each maſs of wood and iron weighed nearly two millions of pounds, of navigating and immerſing them foot by foot, without the leaſt ſhock, are inventions that betoken great ingenuity, and exhibited a pleaſing ſpectacle. The knife which cut the cables to which the caſks were faſtened below the water, is the model of the fatal guillotine.

The inexperience of the workmen occaſioned the failure of the cone conſtructed during the firſt ſeaſon, and they deemed themſelves very lucky to be able to bring it to land. As it had received ſome damage, it was thought proper to build another immediately; they were both ſunk and filled in 1784. Such were the hopes conceived of this project, that without allowing time to judge of the effects produced by the ſea, the conſtruction of five others was determined upon. It was not in the leaſt doubted, but that the wood and the iron would in a ſhort time be deſtroyed by this terrible element; but it was hoped that the ſtones would be conſolidated, and

that a maſs would be thus formed capable of reſiſtance without the aid of this outward caſe. The contrary, however, took place. The ſtones were always in motion in theſe baſkets, exactly like the grains of corn in a winnowing fan. The cones were continually agitated, the waves eaſily broke them, and in retreating carried away the ſtones with which they were filled. If means were not ſpeedily taken to fill them again, the ſea would cruſh the empty baſket work in pieces, and diſperſe the wood and the iron.

On the 18th of Auguſt, 1785, the firſt two cones being greatly damaged by a tempeſt, the marſhal de Caſtries, then miniſter of the marine department, took a journey to Cherbourg, on purpoſe to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the nation. Theſe childiſh *panniers* ought to have been from that moment abandoned, and ſtones ſimply thrown into the ſea, as began to be done in the courſe of that very year at the foot of the cones, on purpoſe to render them more ſolid. It being now diſcovered that theſe ſtones held faſter together than thoſe thrown into the cones, they were at length undeceived by degrees. It was not, however, the appearance of the naval miniſter at Cherbourg, in 1785, that inſpired theſe ſage reſolutions; on the contrary, he ſeemed to have

have gone thither on purpoſe to brave the power of Neptune. He actually gave orders for the conſtruction of ten new cones; and, to put an end to both jokes and criticiſms, it was deemed proper to ſanction this project by the king's preſence.

In June 1786, this prince arrived at Cherbourg; he was preceded by the count d'Artois. There were then two cones ready in the road, one of theſe was floored over, and had a tent erected upon it; from that ſtation the king beheld a cone navigated, ſunk, and in part filled. It was at Cherbourg only, that ſuch a pompous and extraordinary ſpectacle could be ſeen, as that of a cone completely decked, and having one hundred perſons ſtanding upon it, ſailing ſide by ſide with the king of France, who was ſeated in a ſuperb galley in the midſt of ſeventeen men of war, one of which, called the Patriot, mounted ſeventy-four guns. He was welcomed by the ſalutes of the numerous artillery of the ſhips and the forts, and ſurrounded by barges full of muſicians, and more than eighty thouſand ſpectators embarked in upwards of fifteen hundred boats and ſmall veſſels ſuperbly ornamented. The king ſpent four days at Cherbourg. He was familiar and

kind, and would have been more ſo, if thoſe who were about him had not prevented him from diſplaying his natural diſpoſition.

The duke d'Harcourt, and ſtill more the marſhal de Caſtries, were in the wrong to ſeclude and hinder him from leaving traces of his journey in the benefits conferred either by his hand or his mouth. The intermediate agents between kings and their people are ſure to ſpoil every thing.

The marſhal de Segur, miniſter at war, alſo accompanied the king; he had brought along with him St. Paul, the firſt clerk of the *graces* or favours, and Sancquier, the firſt clerk of the department of the artillery and engineers, with all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general promotion. Mr. de Caſtries, who had never dreamed of being beneficent, and ſtill leſs of doing honour to the king, having neither his firſt clerk, nor a liſt of promotions, deſired the good marſhal de Segur to poſtpone his intentions. It is to be remarked, that it was Mr. de Caſtries himſelf, who had cauſed a ſquadron to be aſſembled at Cherbourg, on purpoſe to perform certain evolutions before the king.

The duke de Villequier had provided a box of jewels worth about a million of *livres*, which

Louis

Louis was to have diſtributed among the principal officers, and their wives. The duke, to his great regret, was obliged to carry them back again; it was he himſelf who mentioned this circumſtance to Dumouriez about a month afterwards, and procured for him the preſent that had been deſtined for his uſe: a very exact portrait of the king on a ſnuff box enamelled with great taſte, which he would never have ſeen but for this piece of information.

Louis XVI examined every thing with the utmoſt attention; he himſelf was an artiſt. He was alſo preſent at a mock fight, and ſailed three leagues on board the Patriot. How little connection is there between the name of this veſſel, and the monſters who afterwards aſſaſſinated this innocent victim! Every thing done of his own accord in the courſe of his journey, bore teſtimony to his bounty; every thing he was made to do was ungracious. The province was much diſcontented with the duke d'Harcourt, who rather proved himſelf a good courtier, than a governour and patriot; he is accuſed of having procured every thing to be done for himſelf and his own connexions, and nothing for others: this was certainly not true. He was at that time appointed

pointed governour to the dauphin; but this was not a favour, as it is a place of great confidence, and he was capable of filling it, for he poſſeſſes much knowledge, and his manners are agreeable.

The preſence of the king had done honour to, but not ſtrengthened the cones, for in the courſe of that very winter they were all overſet. They were launched again in 1787. At length, government became weary of them in 1788, and actually demoliſhed thoſe that remained as low as the water's edge. Twenty one cones in all were conſtructed, which, one with another, coſt four hundred thouſand *livres* apiece, for De Ceſſart, who had begun modeſtly by aſking for the refuſe wood only, ended by demanding the very beſt uſed in ſhip-building, and eſpecially ſome of the fineſt *knees*. Twenty good frigates might have been conſtructed with the materials and the money thrown away upon the twenty-one cones, of which very luckily the ſmalleſt trace does not now remain. The work was continued without either wood, iron, or maſonry.

Had Dumouriez been able to foreſee, that this project would have been reduced to ſuch a ſimple proceſs, after having paſſed through all the refinement

refinement of art, and called forth the abilities of all the learned, he would have been daring enough to have propoſed his ſyſtem of blocks, and made uſe of all his efforts for its adoption. When the plan of the cones had been abandoned, this was no longer poſſible, as theſe noble maſſes had been broken into pieces. Beſides, there was now a regular adminiſtration formed for carrying on this work, and contracts made, &c.; ſo that, however excellent his project might have been, the intereſt of individuals would have made it miſcarry. He was diſpoſed to be contented provided he could but ſee a dike raiſed in any manner. He however made and preſented his obſervations occaſionally, which did not always pleaſe.

A council of adminiſtration had been formed, in conſequence of letters patent from the miniſter of the marine department; he was excluded, but notwithſtanding this, the miniſter himſelf and the duke d'Harcourt ſolicited him to aſſiſt at it. Far from taking umbrage at the excluſion which had taken place, he was equally aſſiduous and active as if he had been one of the members.

He ſpent the whole year at Cherbourg; it was during the winter that the new works

ſuſtained

ſuſtained the greateſt damage; he carefully obſerved the progreſs of the ocean, tranſmitted his obſervations, and announced future diſaſters. By theſe means he offended poor De Ceſſart, who became unhappy at his bad ſucceſs, and blamed every body; he afterwards diſpleaſed the duke d'Harcourt, who endeavoured to make him feel his indignation. The diſpute grew ſo warm at laſt, that he thought himſelf obliged to make an offer to give in his reſignation, of which the governour however would not accept.

In 1789, they affected to employ the *tactician* Meſnil Durand, who had the rank of a major-general, on the works at Cherbourg; this was an ill timed mortification which he experienced from the duke d'Harcourt, after having commanded during nine years in a place that he had in ſome meaſure created, more eſpecially as he himſelf was likely to be a major general at the promotion of 1788, which accordingly took place.

From that time he entirely withdrew himſelf from the cares attendant on the adminiſtration, which devolved on the duke de Beuvron, brother to the duke d'Harcourt, the latter of whom could not leave Verſailles. The former

was

was a good man, and replete with zeal, but ſhuffling, weak, and changeable in his diſpoſition; his ſociety, too, did not afford the ſame reſource as that of the duke d'Harcourt, who was very amiable.

The mind of Dumouriez had been occupied during ſix years with another project which he conſidered as a corollary, or a branch from that of Cherbourg: it related to the *grand-Vey*. This plan was the work of ſeveral engineers; la Rozière and Meſnil Durand had each of them been ſeparately employed on it. All were agreed as to its utility, its grandeur, and even the facility of its execution.

The peninſula of the Cotentin is terminated towards the ſouth by a river called the Douve, which runs from weſt to eaſt, and empties itſelf into the Vey below Carentan.

As this river paſſes through unwholeſome marſhes and its waters ſtagnate, the people of the neighbouring villages breathe an infectious air; all the lands within half a league of its borders are continually covered with ſtanding waters, which emit peſtilential exhalations, and a fever prevails during the whole year in the little town of Carentan, and in all the places along the Douve.

Douve. The languid motion of this ſtream ariſes from its being one of the ſeven which form the Veys, from the paſſage of ſeveral of theſe rivers being in a manner dammed up by a narrow bridge, and from the two bars or ſand banks at the entrance of the great and little Vey, which pen up the ſtream.

There is one certain mode of affording an eaſy paſſage to theſe waters: this is by deſtroying one of the two bars already alluded to, by erecting a dike along the banks, digging a channel in the middle, conſtructing a bridge and flood-gates, and above all, by giving ſufficient breadth to this canal, in order to procure room enough for the diſcharge of the waters of the ſeven rivers.

By theſe means an immenſe country might be reclaimed from the water, ſalubrity and cultivation would enſue, and the population be doubled; all theſe improvements would tend to augment the publick revenues, and the national riches. In ſhort, he had calculated, that if the king expended ten or twelve millions, which was the ſum the melioration of the great Vey might probably coſt, he would lay out his money ſo as to gain at the rate of ſeventeen *per cent.*

It

It had been propoſed time immemorial to all the intendants and miniſters, to do ſomething of this kind in reſpect to the Veys; but before the works at Cherbourg were undertaken, the peninſula of Cotentin was not ſufficiently intereſting for any adminiſtration to expend money ſolely with a view to the health and utility of the inhabitants.

Three projects were preſented, with a view to facilitate the iſſue of theſe rivers, by the conſtruction of a bridge, but two only were on a grand ſcale. One of them reſpected the paſſage of the little Vey at Iſigny. In addition to the advantages already mentioned, it opened a direct communication between Cherbourg and Caen, by la Hougue, Iſigny, and Bayeux; the circuit by Carentan and St. Lo would have been ſaved, and Bayeux reached by one ſide of the triangle. This plan of a bridge over the little Vey was ſuggeſted by the engineers of roads and bridges, as an object that might be attained for two or three millions of *livres*; it would have coſt five, but the advantages would have more than compenſated the expenſes.

The other, which was the greater and more uſeful, which would have opened a ſtill more direct communication between Cherbourg and

Caen, reclaimed more land from the ſea, opened the richeſt reſource to commerce, agriculture, and population, was the project of improving the great Vey, by throwing over a bridge from the point of Grandcamp in the baſin to the peninſula near Ravenoville. The expenſe was eſtimated at ſix millions; it would have been at leaſt ten; but the advantages would have been immenſe. This bridge would have opened a great direct road from Cherbourg to Caen, without going round by Bayeux; this would have ſhortened the journey between that important port and the capital of Lower Normandy, by no leſs than thirteen leagues. The towns of St. Lo and Bayeux were much alarmed leſt this project ſhould be carried into execution.

This was the plan that ſtruck all thoſe who conſidered things in an extenſive point of view. The ſucceſs of the works at Cherbourg was not ſo flattering as to induce Dumouriez directly to propoſe ſuch an increaſe of expenſe. An opportunity was wanting to encourage individuals to undertake this ſcheme, without the interference of the ſtate. Public companies had indeed been often propoſed, but experience had demonſtrated that the government

ment was always a dupe to theſe, that they commenced ſuch enterprizes with a greater ſtock of raſhneſs than of money, and that it always happened at laſt, that the work was either entirely abandoned, or became chargeable to the nation.

During the winter of 1787, 1788, the Dutch patriots, in conſequence of the bad ſucceſs of their inſurrection, arrived in great numbers to ſeek an aſylum in France. Among theſe were many rich land owners, and men of different ſtations in life. As the government that had occaſioned their ruin was embarraſſed with them, Mr. de St. Prieſt, on his returning from his fruitleſs embaſſy into Holland, propoſed to eſtabliſh a colony of them at Cherbourg, and he accordingly ſent a deputation of theſe unfortunate exiles to Dumouriez; they were conducted by an officer of the name of Poncet, belonging to the ſtaff of the army. There was however no poſſibility of ſettling them at Cherbourg, as the place was already encumbered in conſequence of the works carrying on in the road, and preſented nothing to the eye but a mere chaos.

He began however to reflect, that the riches, the habit of living amidſt waters, and of con-

ſtructing dikes to keep out the ſea, added to the patient and phlegmatick character of the Dutch, would render them more fit than any other nation for executing the project relative to the great Vey. As the terms were eaſy, being nothing more than a grant of three leagues of a flat marſhy country ſtill under water, he perſuaded himſelf that the miniſter would readily conſent to them, in favour of four or five thouſand uſeful, laborious, and opulent men, who would not ſtand in need of continual ſupport, more eſpecially as it would ſoon render the penſions granted to the poorer claſſes unneceſſary.

Mr. de la Luzerne was then miniſter of the marine department; he himſelf was well known to be very ardent in reſpect to projects, he was alſo proprietor of the eſtate of *Beureville* near Iſigny, and was well acquainted with the Veys.

Dumouriez accordingly propoſed to him to aſſemble the Dutch refugees in this ſpot, and to make them a grant of part of the Veys, which they were to lay into *Polders* by means of a bridge over the great Vey. The enterprize was to be conducted at their own coſt, they receiving tolls or other compenſations during

during a limited number of years, by way of indemnification for the expenſe; and it was propoſed to mark out for them on the coaſt of the peninſula, which preſents paſture grounds and a climate ſimilar to Holland, the plan of a town to be named Batavia, with a view to ſoothe their misfortunes by the illuſion of a ſecond country.

La Luzerne rejected an idea ſo advantageous to humanity and to France, merely becauſe he poſſeſſed a large eſtate adjoining to the Veys; he foreſaw that ſo induſtrious a colony would ſoon ſet bounds to the petty acquiſitions gained by himſelf yearly from the ſea, and actuated merely by the hopes of ſome thouſand additional *livres* of rent, and a few acres of land, this man, already worth more than a hundred thouſand *livres* a year, ſacrificed the projected eſtabliſhment of this Dutch colony, the health of his neighbours, the glory of the nation, and the advantage of his country. This is the only great attempt made by Dumouriez which has completely and irrevocably failed.

Towards the end of 1788 the young dauphin died, happy in not having lived long enough to participate in the unexpected calamities, with which his unfortunate

family has been ſince overwhelmed. His demiſe reſtored the duke d'Harcourt to the cares of his government; but the diſorder and confuſion, that now began to take place, already announced a great revolution. The aſſemblies of the notables, by means of which imprudent and faithleſs miniſters wiſhed to aſſay the temper of the nation, intimated that the developement of its ſtrength and its fury was at hand.

Theſe great objects now occupied the attention of Dumouriez more than the works at Cherbourg, which drew towards a concluſion. The two dikes had been united together, and the channel between them filled up, and as they were already elevated throughout their whole length to a level with the low water mark, many of the boats were laid up, and the expenſes greatly diminiſhed.

They were then employed in the conſtruction of fort Querqueville. Theſe great undertakings have not been completed. It was to have been wiſhed, that before the French nation had unfortunately relinquiſhed its uſeful and pacifick occupations, in conſequence of the criminal agitations which now tear its bowels in pieces, the two ſaliant points or

angles of this long dike had been terminated in a ſolid manner, either by ſinking frame works of maſonry, according to the project of Mr. de Caux, or by fortifying them with a girdle of very large blocks of granite. It is by ſapping of theſe two unprotected extremities that the ſea will at length deſtroy and diſperſe a maſs of ſtones deſtitute of coherence, by far too ſmall, and not ſufficiently ponderous.

What has been already achieved is extremely uſeful. Two noble forts and a grand battery afford ſuch ample means of defence to this road as to render it inexpugnable, more eſpecially as furnaces are every where conſtructed on purpoſe to prepare red hot balls, and the works are bomb proof. The dike, ſuch as it is, affords a ſafe anchorage behind it, in which men of war can be ſtationed ſo as to aſſiſt the forts; and in whatever manner the revolution may terminate, the French nation will certainly take advantage of the firſt calm, to excavate the baſin projected by Vauban in the *pre du roi.* The eſtabliſhment will be then grand and certain, and the execution of the plan relative to the great *Vey* will become a neceſſary conſequence of the completion of the harbour of Cherbourg.

Dumouriez alſo hopes, that the project relative to a harbour at Boulogne may be ſome day reſumed. The French navy will then be enabled to enjoy an equal proportion of the navigation of the channel, the half of which by its poſition appertains to it, if the ſea can appertain to any one nation. The archipelago of Guernſey and Jerſey will alſo be reunited to Normandy, from which it has been ſeparated, and which, to the diſgrace of France, ſtill remains in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

Such are the wiſhes he utters in behalf of his native country, not to inculcate ambition and conqueſt, not to deſolate the wealthy iſland of Great Britain by barbarous and ruinous deſcents; but in order that theſe two nations, finding themſelves equal in point of force, may mutually reſpect each other, and diſcover in peace and fraternity advantages which will deliver the two continents from the calamities and devaſtations occaſioned by their cruel jealouſies. The well cemented union of theſe nations would enſure univerſal peace.

CHAP. VI.

Reflections.

An epoch of eleven years is here concluded; the happieſt in Dumouriez' whole life; they were ſpent in extenſive, uſeful, ſedentary, and philoſophical labours. Having built a new Salentum, he would have been happy, like Idomeneus, to have finiſhed his life there. In 1778 he had only found 7,300 inhabitants at Cherbourg; he left in 1789 more than nineteen thouſand ſouls, and an enormous augmentation in houſes, publick buildings, military works, and edifices of all kinds. Had he but ſucceeded in cauſing the reaſonable, ſimple, and ſublime plan of the marſhal de Vauban to be adopted, the project of the great Vey would have been carried into execution, and the little peninſula of Cotentin would have been at preſent one of the beſt peopled, the beſt cultivated, and the moſt intereſting portions of all France. In addition to the publick good done

done by him, he enjoyed the agreeable ſatiſfaction of achieving the private happineſs of ſeveral families. He left behind him a few friends, many enemies, and a ſtill greater number of *ingrates*.

His time paſſed quickly away, amidſt his books and his labours. His occupations kept his mind directed towards objects great in their own nature, and uſeful to humanity. He laboured for his country, not only for the preſent, but for ages to come, and a future race. By means of his meditations, his ſtudies, and his ſolitary walks, he eaſily diſſipated his little domeſtic chagrins, forgot the public oppoſition he had met with, and the jealouſy, or unjuſt diſtruſt on the part of his ſuperiours.

Having never fawned upon the court, having never frequented the public offices but with memorials in his hand, not to ſolicit any thing for himſelf, but in behalf of objects of public utility, he was not at all attached to Verſailles. His library indemnified him for the loſs of the frivolous pleaſures and ſpectacles of Paris. Nearly all the friends with whom he had lived in intimacy in that capital, ſuch as the count de Broglie, Voyer, the abbé de Mably,

Mably, Dorat, Crèbillon, and Favier, were dead, and at fifty years of age a man is not very anxious to form new acquaintances.

He had ſpent his patrimony, but as he had not any children, he did not ſtand in need of it; his income was ſufficient, and he expended it honourably. He had adopted that philoſophical motto which terminates the very moral romance of Gil Blas:

" Inveni portum, &c."

He was deſtitute of ambition, but being now a major-general, and in conſtant employment, he was certain of ſoon arriving at the rank of lieutenant general, and receiving the military decorations. He was even convinced that no war could take place, in which his experience and various knowledge would not be called into action, and that he might not become *ruſty*, he continued to apply himſelf to his military ſtudies, to accuſtom himſelf to foreign languages, and, above all things, to the moſt violent bodily exerciſes. His whole life was a mixture of phyſical ſtoiciſm, and moral epicuriſm.

He had hoped to have done more good in his command at Cherbourg, but after all his

his uſeleſs efforts he conſoled himſelf with the idea that he had not neglected any thing, and that the obſtacles encountered by him were ſo many diſadvantages attached to a ſubaltern employment. Had he been a lieutenant general, or duke and peer, when he entered upon that office, he would have ſucceeded in all his undertakings. In France, and almoſt at all courts, the miniſters can never be brought to believe that a colonel at forty years of age has as able a head as a marſhal of France; or a private *commandant*, as the governour of a province. If a ſubaltern dare to diſcover great ideas, they will apply to him on this ſubject, what Dumouriez then jocularly termed the *curfew of William the Conqueror*.

Of theſe eleven years, nothing but regret now remains, for he cannot apply this trivial proverb to himſelf: "As you make your bed, ſo you muſt lie." This "bed" was well made; the moſt horrible cataſtrophes have driven him from it, and he is now wandering about the univerſe. But what are his private misfortunes in compariſon to thoſe frightful calamities which have changed France, and rendered her ſo miſerable?

He is about to trace, in the ſix following books

books of his life, all that he has witneſſed, and the courſe he was obliged to follow in publick affairs. No Frenchman could diſpenſe with acting a part, and all have contributed to lacerate the boſom of their common mother; the court and the emigrants, in oppoſing neceſſary reforms with too much violence; the *conſtitutionels*, in puſhing reforms too far, in allowing themſelves to be miſled by metaphyſical ideas, and factitious agitations; the people in abuſing the faults of theſe two parties, in order to overturn them both, by means of that force conferred by the conſtitution; and the populace, in cruſhing in their turn the people who had the imprudence to ſtir them up.

Dumouriez, ſighing at all theſe exceſſes, blaming all parties, and called upon by exiſting circumſtances to exerciſe the greateſt employments, has diſpleaſed all factions, by preſerving his original character, and remaining true and frank. As a miniſter, he endeavoured to elevate France from her debaſement, by means of firm and noble negotiations, which ended in a rupture, and in this he only anticipated by a few months an inevitable war. As the general of an army, he ſaw nothing but

but the danger of invaded France, and he accordingly repulſed her enemies.

He acknowledges, that he had been deceived in all his calculations. He has beheld with horrour his very ſucceſſes turned againſt his country, for they fortified that anarchy which he wiſhed to combat and annihilate. If Providence ſtill reſerve for him a long exiſtence, he will conſole himſelf with the hope of beholding the end of theſe monſtrous calamities, which are too exceſſive to be durable. If, on the contrary, it be decreed, that the term of his life is to be abridged, equally devoid of reproach and regret, he will bleſs the moment, which, by cloſing his eyes, ſhall deliver him from the horrid picture.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 51,	line	5,	f. b.	for *Builloud*, read *Bullioud*.
56,	in the note,			for *Geneva*, read *Genoa*.
74,	-	2,		for *hand* read *head*.
87,	-	6,	f. b.	for *Andalucia*, read *Andaluſia*.
89,	-	6,	f. b.	for *words* read *wounds*.
91,	-	5,	f. b.	for *general*, read *generals*.
95,	-	7,		after *himſelf*, add *is*.
95,	-	2,	f. b.	for *Pruſſian* read *Ruſſian*.
98,	-	6,	f. b.	for *this*, read *it*.
176,	-	7,	f. b.	for *ſtandard*, read *ſtationed*.
185,	-	6,		for *Meaupou*, read *Maupeou*.
194,	-	7,	f. b.	for *with*, read *in*.
200,	-	3,		for *Ruattan*, read *Rattan*.
205,	-	11,		for *muſt*, read *ought to*.
208,	-	2,		for *after* read *offer*.
221,	-	4,	f. b.	after *corps*, inſert *and*,
270,	-	10,	f. b.	for *Lepolo*, read *Leopol*.
280,	-	13,	f. b.	for *Mniſzeck*, read *Mniczeck*.
300,	-	4,		for *reſted himſelf*, read *remained*.
306,	-	12,		for *Hygeine*, read *Hygeia*.
—,	-	13,		for *Therapeutice*, read *Therapeuticks*.
309,	-	4,	f. b.	for *will*, read *wiſh*.
329,	-	6,	f. b.	for *he*, read *Dumouriez*.
337,	-	5,		before *hold*, inſert *laid*.
351,	-	12,	f. b.	for *confeſſion*, read *confuſion*.
378,	-	3,	f. b.	for *priſon*, read *priſm*.
388,	-	4,		for *miſamata*, read *miaſmata*.
422,	-	2,		for *diſadvantage*, read *advantage*.

VOL. II.

67,	-	7,	f. b.	dele *in*.
78,	-	8,		before *was*, inſert *what*,
95,	-	6,		for *regemented*, read *regimented*.
100,		7,		for *Belgia*,
101,		13,		for *Belgia*, read *Belgium*.
103,		10,		for *Belgia*,
121,	-	ult.		for *draw*, read *drawn*.
122,	-	10,	f. b.	for *of*, read *at*.
141,	-	7,	f. b.	for *niaux*, read *niaud*.
174,	-	2,		*the inverted commas after* labours, *ſhould be after* you, *in line* 4.
	-			

Page

Page 192, line 11, f. b. after *economiſed*, read *in*.
212, - 12, for *flag*, read *rag*.
—, - 13, for *er*, read *them*.
230, - 5, for *Neiſs*, read *Weiſs*.
249, - 11, after *conſiders* put *Dumouriez*.
289, - 5, *put a* ſemicolon *after* fool, *and a* comma *after* confidence, *in line* 8.
343, - 12, for *yourſelf*, read *yourſelves*.
427, - ult. for *it*, read *its*.

VOL. III.

88, - 3, f. b. for *movement*, read *moment*.
131, - 7, f. b. after *gave*, inſert *the*.
139, - 7, f. b. dele *for*.
166, - 10, f. b. after *road*, inſert *and*.
183, - 1, for *eat*, read *ate*.
206, - 3, f. b. for *thoſe*, read *that*.
270, - 9, f. b. for *danger of*, read *dangerous*.
292, - 1, for *20th*, read *24th*.
305, - 3, f. b. for *therefore*, read *accordingly*.

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